Trotter of Mortonhall.

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MEMOIRS

OF

MILES BYRNE

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MEMOIRS

OF

MILES BYRNE

CHEF DE BATAILLON IN THE SERVICE OF FRANCE

Officer of the Legion of honour, Knight of Saint-Louis, etc.

EDITED BY HIS WIDOW

VOL. III

PARIS

GUSTAVE BOSSANGE ET C^IE

25, QUAI VOLTAIRE

NEW-YORK

49, WALTER STREET

—

1863

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR

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Although the 3d volume begins with an account of his life at Paris in 1803, and of many of those he met there at that time Mr Byrne thought it better to give the campaigns of the Irish Legion in the service of France, in the second volume, as a sequence to his narrative of the irish insurrections of 1798 and 1803, making the two first volumes of his Memoirs quite a military story.

The third volume is more personal and contains a good deal of his own life when at Paris when on half pay, with biographical sketches of some remarkable Irishmen. — There is also a fragment of his campaigns in Greece, which it is deeply to be regretted he did not finish.

FANNY BYRNE

PRELIMINARY NOTE BY THE AUTHOR

—

The first volume was a narrative of what I went through during the insurrection in Ireland in 1798 and that of 1803 etc. up to my arrival in Paris, august 1803.

The second volume is the history of the organization of the Irish Legion by the First Consul in 1803, and its campaigns and services from that period up to its being disbanded in 1815 by the government of the second Restoration, after the battle of Waterloo.

This 3^{d} volume will tell how I passed my time at Paris, from august till december 1803 when I started for Morlaix, with some short biographical notices of several of the principal irish refugees and patriots whom I met in France at that period.

NOTES

OF AN IRISH EXILE

OF 1798

I mentioned in the first volume, that Mr Emmett had hired a room for me in the petite rue du Bac; it was a mere closet, but it was all I wanted : as it was near his house, I felt it a great consolation that I could be with him every day, and continue to furnish him with still further particulars about unhappy Ireland; hoping too, that from his influence with the french government, we should ere long obtain assistance for my beloved country. In consequence of this, I was happier than might have been expected under such circumstances — but alas! this happiness was of short duration : for Mr Emmett on learning the final and fatal news about his lamented brother « Robert, » left Paris with his family, and went to reside at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, that is, in a country house he took in that neighbourhood. — Then my mise-

rable closet became irksome to me and had no further attraction, Mr Emmett being out of Paris.

The same newspapers which brought the afflicting intelligence of the trial and execution of the ever-to-be- lamented Robert Emmett, contained a long list of « state » prisoners, waiting their turn to be tried and executed : amongst them were the names of my dear brother Edward Kennedy, and my valued friend Philip Long. These sad tidings were overwhelming indeed, as from a merciless judge, thirsting for blood, like Norbury, and a packed jury, no justice could be expected. I therefore considered my dear brother and Phil Long as already sacrificed. — The execution of Felix Roork, Denis Redmond, Macintosh, and his brother-in-law young Keernan, appeared in the newspapers also. Shortly after I heard of the trial and execution of the brave and virtuous patriot Thomas Russell. — This heroic martyr to his country's freedom, left his niece Mrs Hamilton at Paris when he set out for Ireland. I went to see this unhappy lady in her cruel distress; she feared every moment she should hear of the arrest and execution of her husband Mr W. Hamilton also, he having accompanied her uncle from Paris to Dublin, and from thence to the north of Ireland.

I was sitting one day in my lonely closet, reflecting on all these sorrowful tidings from Ireland, and of my own

melancholy prospects, when I received the kind visit of Valentine Derry, brother of the catholic Bishop of Down in Ireland, and the friend of the unfortunate Father Quigly. He stood by him at his trial at Maidstone, and in his last moments on the scaffold, and for this he had to fly his country and escape to France, where he obtained the situation of professor of english at the military college of La Flêche. It being vacation time, Mr Derry came to spend it amongst his friends and acquaintances at Paris : fortunately for me, as he soon put me in a way to live in the cheapest manner possible. That same day we went to dine together at a traiteur's in the rue de la Harpe; — the traiteur was a Mr Moreau and he and his wife kept a restaurant much frequented by the young students. — Our dinner consisted of two dishes « mouton au navet » six sous ; a « small beefsteak » seven sous; a quarter of a bottle of wine, two sous and a half; plenty of bread, two sous; water at discretion. The meat was tolerably good, and as M. Moreau was a capital cook, every thing was well prepared, and the dinner varied each day. I took a room on the second storey, with two windows looking out on the street, for twelve francs a month, the price I gave for the miserable closet I had left in the petite rue du Bac. Mr Derry having lodged with Mr et madame Moreau before he got his appointment at the college of La Flèche, they were well disposed to be obliging and to follow his instructions respecting the way I wished to live. Every morning at nine o'clock, two

sous worth of boiled milk was brought to my room, with a three sous loaf of bread. This loaf sufficed for breakfast and dinner; so my two meals cost about eleven pence per day, or twenty two sous; I dined between four and five o'clock, the student's hour. — I only paid my bill at the end of the week, when madame Moreau furnished me a small note, signed « pour acquit femme Moreau. » As I dined often with friends in town, this note seldom amounted to more than six francs. — Mr Derry told me the irish refugees, with few exceptions, were living in this frugal way, endeavouring to make their money last, as I was doing and thus conforming myself to follow the example of those brave irish patriots, who enjoyed opulence and happiness, before they had to fly their country to take refuge in France. It was not a difficult matter for me, — I having known the starvation suffered in the mountains of the county of Wicklow in 1798. — Besides, those of my friends from whom I might have expected a remittance, were now closely lodged in the Dublin jails, so I had no alternative left, but to live in the cheapest manner possible.

Mr Derry was also very useful to me in assisting me to learn french. He introduced me to a french gentleman of the name of Lesage, who had spent twenty years in England as professor of french, and he was now teaching english in Paris; he had so much to do, that I could only get two lessons from him in the week, and at night : his

brother was one of the professors at the college of La Flêche. Good Mr Derry had to return to this college, vacation being over : I felt sorry enough at his departure from Paris, he was such an obliging, kind-hearted man ; but we soon met again at Morlaix, in the irish legion, in which he had first the rank of lieutenant and afterwards he received the brevet of captain. Finding there was no great likelihood of an expedition to Ireland, he resigned his commission and went to America in 1806. He established an academy at New-York and I have heard he succeeded, which afforded me great pleasure to learn. Mr Derry was learned, and a good french scholar, and well fitted to be at the head of such an institution. He was amiable and kind, and made friends wherever he went.

It was now the first of october 1803, and I found I could go on for two or three months still, with the little money I had remaining, but this was all I thought that I could accomplish in the way of living cheap, except by too much privation. I hoped and trusted that in the interval some happy change might take place, I therefore kept up my spirits and went about seeing sights. That in which I took the greatest interest then, was, the rapid construction of the flat bottomed boats destined to be employed in invading England. The quay from the bridge at the place de la Concorde, down the river, for more than a mile long, was a complete dock yard and arsenal ;

and every day I could see some of these small vessels launched, and the keels of others put on the stocks to replace them. The quickness with which these vessels were constructed and got ready for sailing from Paris, was not surprising, as the First Consul himself frequently inspected the dock yards and works. I saw him one day on board of one of those flat bottomed vessels, getting her rowed up and down the river by some thirty or forty sailors. He was accompanied by his staff officers and aides-de-camp. The vessel was rigged with little masts and sails. I could not well distinguish his features, being too far off. A few days before, I saw him at the balcony of the Tuileries, but also imperfectly, as the crowd was too dense in the gardens, it being the fête of the Republican new year first of vendemiaire, or the 21st september. — However I was more fortunate some time after. One sunday morning, I met on the Pont-Royal, Mr Moriarty, a Cork gentleman, a friend of Mr Emmett, he told me the First Consul Buonaparte had just passed the review of the guards and returned to the palace, accompanied by the second and third consuls, Cambacérès and Le Brun, and that he would see these gentlemen down stairs to their carriages when going away. Mr Moriarty had the kindness to return to me to the palace and to speak to the officer commanding the guard at the bottom of the great stairs : after I had shewn my « carte de sureté, » he placed me in the best manner to have a good view, and I had only to wait about ten mi-

nutes when I saw the conquering hero descending the great stair, slowly and in deep conversation with the two other consuls, and as I had seen those gentlemen often before, particularly Cambacérès, my attention was entirely drawn to gaze alone on the young officer of whose military exploits I had been so accustomed to hear, and his presence brought to my recollection the happy days when we used to read at the chapel the newspapers giving an account of his brilliant campaigns from 1795 down to the peace of Campo Formio october 1797.—After the insurrection of '98, I could not attend these chapels. After seeing his two colleagues to their carriages, the First Consul returned quickly; he bade the officer make the men of the guard, who remained with presented arms, carry them, after which he ran up stairs like a young school boy. What struck me was, that though he was sallow and pale, he was stout and well proportioned, resembling much the portraits given of him at that time. I was pleased to have seen him so well, and went away satisfied and convinced that ere long some assistance would be obtained for Ireland, Mr Emmett having recently got encouraging promises on the subject.

When I arrived at Paris, I should immediately have waited on Mr Arthur O'Connor, had I not heard that he and Mr Thomas Addis Emmett were on the worst terms; circumstanced as I was with the latter, I could not think

of becoming acquainted with his enemy. No one however regretted more than I did to learn that two such men should not be on speaking terms with each other; they, whom my countrymen at home looked upon as their most strenuous agents with the french government, and as consulting with one another at every moment to see what was best to be done. I enquired of my friend Hugh Ware, who had spent a long time in prison with MM. O'Connor and Emmett, to know the cause of their dispute. He told me he could never ascertain it, but that he believed it was nothing political; that he himself had endeavoured to reconcile these gentlemen, but found it impossible. Their misunderstanding must indeed have been of a very serious nature, for Hugh Ware was a real peace maker, and no officer I ever knew prevented more duels than he did.

This unfortunate misunderstanding between two of the principal irish leaders, produced at this important moment, the worst effect, as it shewed clearly to the french government that already the irish refugees could not agree amongst themselves abroad; consequently it might be still worse when in their own country. The french government wished to arrange this matter through the medium of general Augerau, whom the irish expected would have the command of the french army destined to set them free. Even this great soldier failed to make MM. Emmett and O'Connor forget their differences, for the good of their common country; probably they thought

it of no consequence, but many of us exiles felt grieved at the bad result which this protracted misunderstanding would create : every day I could hear something on the subjet discussed at the London coffee house in the rue Jacob, then much frequented by the irish on account of the Argus newspaper being taken there; which paper was published in english by the famous Goldsmith. It was in that newspaper that I read all the sad tidings of my dear friends in Ireland.

The exiled irish whom I met in France, and who had escaped at different periods previous to the insurrection of 1798, were, Edward Lewens, Richard Mac Cormack, William Lawless, John Tennant, Pat Gallagher, Putenham Mac Cabe, Thomas Burgess, the two brothers Thomas and William Corbet, Valentine Derry, John Mac Henry, Read, Arthur Mac Mahon, etc.

Those who escaped after the insurrection and after general Humbert's capitulation to lord Cornwallis, were, William Barker, Jeremy Fitzhenry, captain Murphy, Paul Murray, Counsellor James Joseph Macdonald, his cousin G. Macdonald, Augustin O'Meally, John Gibbons, his son Ned Gibbons, P. Powel, Father Gannon, Augustin Gibbons, O'Kean, J. Mac-Guire, etc.

David Baillie Warden, Harrison, O'Mally and some others, escaped to America, and from thence came to France as american citizens.

The irish patriots I met with, who had to expatriate themselves in order to get out of prison, after many years confinement, were, Hampden Evans, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, John Sweetman, Mathew Dowling, Hugh Wilson, Thomas Markey, John Sweeny, Hugh Ware, Patt Mac Cann, etc.

I paid few visits, only to some of Mr Emmett's friends and fellow prisoners, such as, Matt Dowling, John Sweetman, John Sweeny, Hugh Ware, Hampden Evans: the latter having lost one of his daughters a short time before I arrived, lived retired, in a comfortable house on the boulevard des Invalides, opposite the rue Plumet (now rue « Oudinot »). Mrs Tone, and other ladies such as Mrs Gallagher, Mrs Hamilton, etc., wives of the exiles, were always well received by this excellent family, consisting of the father and mother, young Hampden and his three sisters Mary, Nancy and Sidney. The first was afterwards married to William Lawless, when he became colonel of the irish regiment; the second was married to Mr George Putland, and the third to her cousin Acton.

The refugees who with Mr Emmett and his family, frequented Mr Hampden Evan's house, were, generally, John Sweetman, Matt Dowling, Dick M'Cormick, Doctor Mac Neven and William Lawless.

Mr John Sweetman was not only a true irish patriot; he was learned and highly accomplished. He had a great taste for the fine arts, having visited Italy often, and he

was ever ready to accompany a friend to that interesting country. I always felt the greatest pleasure in this worthy gentleman's conversation : and he who entertained in the first style at Dublin, was now living sparingly indeed at Paris.

Matt Dowling bore up with his misfortunes like a philosopher of the olden times, retaining all his gaiety and amiable manners which used to endear him so much to the citizens of Dublin, who were in the habit of electing him king of the island of Daulky. — I spent one evening at his lodgings in company with Paul Murray and Arthur Mac Mahon and he made us nearly forget we were far away from our home; — he made us proud of being exiles in a good cause.

Richard Mac Cormick was much esteemed by his countrymen in Paris. He knew my poor step-brother Edward Kennedy, who was then one of the state prisoners in Kilmainham jail, waiting to be tried by that infamous court, with its packed jury, and presided over by the heartless ruffian Norbury.

Edward Lewens having been sent on a mission to the french government some time after Hoche's expedition to Ireland had failed, met Wolfe Tone in Paris, with whom, he told me, he always consulted on irish affairs; yet some of the exiles of that period thought that Lewens did not exert himself sufficiently with the Directory, to obtain for them the aid they so much needed. The french government continually at war, had her resources much

exhausted, and no money to spare. Instead of seeking to raise a loan in France, according to his instructions, Lewens should have been the bearer of thirty or forty thousand pounds, to be offered to the Director Barras, to assist in defraying the expence of preparing an expedition of four or five thousand french troops to be sent in fast sailing frigates to Ireland in june 1798, when we were in great force in many parts of Leincester and near the capital, in place of general Humbert's eight hundred, which only landed in august, when all was over. — The rich catholic patriots, like Keogh of Mount Geram, could not see the necessity of proposing money to the french government, yet it would have been good policy, and probably a surer way to success to have made the offer in time, instead of speaking of loans in a country where money was so scarce, and so much wanted to carry on the war — Lewens having studied in France, knew the language, laws and customs of the country well; he possessed talents and ability to fill the situation of agent to the french government; though it was a period of vast difficulty — 1797, 98 and 99 — still something might have been obtained, had the irish leaders at home been better advised. Under these difficult circumstances, Mr Lewens found it no easy matter to please his countrymen either abroad or in Ireland; yet he had his wife's uncle Mr Thomas Branghall residing at Dublin, who enjoyed there the confidence of his fellow citizens, and it was expected that Mr Branghall would have procu

red from them more precise instructions for his nephew at Paris. — Be that as it may, I must say for myself, that when I experienced such unjust treatment from the minister of war, Clark, the duke of Feltre, none of my friends were more indignant than Edward Lewens. Being retired on half pay at Tours, I received on the 2d of january 1817, an order to quit the town in twenty four hours, and the kingdom of France in fifteen days. I came at once to Paris, to protest against such injustice and to seek redress, which could hardly be expected in that dreadful time of terror. — Lewens was one of those to whom I made known my plan of acting to get out of my difficulties.— I lodged at the hotel de Calais, opposite the diligence office, rue Montmartre, but as it was not safe for my friends to come and visit me there, as I was watched by the police, I appointed Mrs Barker's house in the rue du Vieux-Colombier as a place to meet them in. It is gratifying to me even now, to think, how that worthy woman and her son and daughter felt for my very disagreeable situation, indeed quite as if I had been one of their nearest relations : and I can never forget with what pleasure they used to see Lewens calling, because they thought that his visits would cheer me, and worthy Mrs Barker had always a cup of good tea for Lewens, which he liked much. After taking leave of Mrs Barker and her kind hearted son and daughter, we used to set out together to go home.

I of course thought it my duty to accompany Mr Le-

wens to his house, but he never would quit me, no matter how late, until he saw me a part of the way to my lodgings; and thus would he wish to pass the night, talking and walking, without ever thinking of going to rest. He delighted in controversy, on every subject, and often would appear in a great passion whilst disputing, yet he had a good temper, and was ever ready to listen to refutation and truth.

Lewens did not enjoy at that time (1817), the influence he had afterwards in the reign of Charles X when his great friend the Bishop of Hermopolis, abbé de Frayssinous, was minister of public instruction, and grand master of the university of France. His son Laurence Lewens, called in french de Lewens, and who had been professor at the college Stanislas and private secretary to the Bishop, is now chef de division of the « personnel, » the most important situation in the ministry of public instruction and Lewens himself was one of the inspectors of the university; a place generally obtained by great learning and long services. Though Lewens was a good scholar and a naturalized frenchman, his nomination caused great jealousy amongst the professors : but when they heard of the services he had rendered to the abbé de Frayssinous in the time of the Directory, their clamour ceased.

I must say, that on many occasions I found both Mr Lewens and his son Laurence, most obliging to friends

of mine. — Mr David Baillie Warden one of the true irish patriots of 1798, escaped to America, and there became a naturalized citizen ; he was appointed consul of the United-States at Paris, which situation he filled with distinction for several years.

His valuable statistical work on America, published in french and in english, created for him amongst literary men at that period, a highly honourable reputation. — Mr Warden desired the title of member of the French Institute as earnestly as others would that of count or duke; learning this from our mutual friend Arthur Barker, I went at once to Mr Lewens to ask him to get his son Laurence to use his influence to get votes for Mr Warden amongst the members of the Institute who had the right of naming their corresponding member. Mr Lewens wished me to go myself to his son, who, he said, would be too happy to have it in his power to serve any friend of mine; and indeed Mr Laurence Lewens soon gave a good proof of what his father had advanced, for by his kind exertions Mr Warden was named a few days after, member of the Institute by a great majority.

After the change of the ministry, and the nomination of the grand master of the university, a re-organization of the medical school was ordered by the new minister, abbé de Frayssinous. I called on my worthy friend doctor Mac Mahon to ask him if he was not thinking of putting forward his claims, to obtain something in these new

changes : he candidly replied, that he thought he was entitled to a professorship, or at least that of agrégé (fellow), but that it would be difficult to obtain any thing, as there were already so many inscribed for the situations vacant at Paris. I asked him if he would allow me to speak to Mr Lewens on the matter ; he having consented, I waited immediately on the latter, who seemed delighted to have it in his power to be useful to Mac Mahon. Lewens went at once and spoke to the minister and procured from him an interview for Mac Mahon on the following morning. He met with a most gracious reception, the minister saying to him. « Doctor Mac Mahon, you are enti- « tled to something better than a professorship after your « long services and campaigns on the Rhine under gene- « ral Moreau, etc. I will name you head librairian to the « medical school, which place you are, from your edu- « cation, your knowledge of languages, etc., so compe- « tent to fill. » Mac Mahon got a good salary and splendid lodgings in the medical school; this situation he enjoyed quietly until his death in december 1835.

Knowing how agreeable it would be to Lewens, that our friends then residing at Tours should hear of his kind exertions to serve Mac Mahon their great friend, I wrote to them, and in a few days I shewed him letters on the subject I had had from colonels Ware, Allen, etc., which flattered and pleased him exceedingly ; it was the reward he desired most.

He always seemed to value much the consideration in which he was held by the patriots of 1798. — In his last moments, before quitting this world to go to a better, all his thoughts and sympathies were for poor Ireland; and two days previous to his death, I found him reading Wolfe Tone's memoirs, in his sick bed, and repeating to me, what a true irishman Tone was! — His illness was very short, being seized suddenly with hiccough and black vomiting. The Bishop of Hermopolis, M. de Frayssinous, his school-fellow and friend, was his spiritual adviser, and it was he who officiated and celebrated high mass at the funeral service at the church of the Assumption. The funeral was conducted by his two sons Laurence and Hippolite, the latter at that time was a student at the seminary of Saint-Sulpice and shorthy after was ordained a priest. — Mr Lewens having belonged to the university at the time of his death, the members of that body assisted at the ceremony and followed the hearse to the cemetery of Père Lachaise, where he was interred. I trust I need not add, that all the irish exiles then at Paris, were present on this melancholy occasion. The distinctive mark of inspector of studies, with that of the cross of knight of the Legion of honour, were placed on the coffin. No civil functionary could have more honour paid to him than this irish patriot, residing in a foreign land, away from his own home.

Mr Laurence Lewens continued, after his father's death, still to be very obliging to his friends, and often

used his influence in getting bourses at colleges for the sons of men whose circumstances prevented them being able to pay the full expences of the college education.

General Arthur O'Connor having a demand to make of the french government respecting the pay of the irish officers not employed, and thinking the new ministry, of which the abbé de Frayssinous was still a member, in january 1828, might be favourable, asked me to introduce him to Mr Laurence de Lewens. The latter being very busy at the ministry during the week, appointed the sunday morning after when general O'Connor and I waited on him at his own house in the rue Vaugirard. Both spoke english and french equally well, still Mr de Lewens wished the conversation to be in french, as he could the more readily explain to the minister the object of general O'Connor's demand, which was simply this; at the formation of the irish legion, Alexandre Berthier, minister of war, afterwards prince Berthier, gave a document in writing to general O'Connor, assuring him that the irish officers, whether actively employed or not, should always receive their full pay, as they would have no home to retire to, like the native officers, after the disbanding of their regiments. — M. Laurence de Lewens soon understood the question perfectly, and promised to explain the matter to the minister and procure from him an audience for general O'Connor; this took place two days after, when the minister, abbé de Frayssinous kindly

took upon himself to bring the business before the government and to use all his influence to have general O'Connor's demand taken into consideration. Adding, « general, I know well the sacrifices you have made in « your own country, endeavouring to have the catholics « there emancipated, and it will afford me great pleasure « now, if I can in any way, serve you or your country- « men. » Nothing could be more gracious than the reception general O'Connor met with from the minister and he seemed much struck with young Lewens' talents and great kindness. I had to go to Fontainebleau on this occasion, to engage colonel Markey, who resided there, to use his influence with his friends, whom he knew when he was aide-de-camp to the minister of war, the duke de Feltre; these gentlemen retaining under the Bourbons government the offices they had at the time of the empire; in short we had every reason to expect a favourable issue to our demand, from the kind interest the abbé de Frayssinous, the Bishop of Hermopolis, took in the matter; but unfortunately he resigned and quit the ministry before general O'Connor got any answer to his demand. — All these details will shew the interest Edward Lewens and his son took in irish affairs when they possessed great influence with the french government, under the reign of Charles the tenth.

After this long digression, I must resume my narrative of the way I spent the months of september, october and

november at Paris in 1803. — My daily occupation was learning french. — I thought I was not making much progress; however Dr Mac Neven encouraged me, and bade me persevere. He advised me never to go out to walk without my grammar or vocabulary, and to take care that before I returned, I should have learned some new words. I followed his advice and it was excellent. — No matter what direction I intended to walk in, before setting out, I wished always to call at the London coffee house, in the rue Jacob, where I was sure to learn some news about Ireland. One morning passing early there, I saw madame Lecomte behind her counter and only one man in the coffee house, and this gentleman had a pile of old newspapers on the table before him. Madame Lecomte told me that the « Argus » english newspaper had not arrived. At the same time addressing the gentleman who was busy reading, she said, « Mr Sweeny, this is the Mr Byrne « I was telling you of. » On which he came and shook hands with me, saying, « I have just arrived after a long « journey; Mr Gallagher whom I have just seen, gave « me your address. » We then left the coffee house together, bidding madame Lecomte good morning. He going a few doors further off to the hôtel d'Espagne, I accompanied him, when he began to tell me all about his fortunate escape from Ireland. Having gone to Cork, for the purpose of co-operating in the intended rising, organized by Robert Emmett, but hearing of its failure at Dublin, he had to conceal himself the best way he could, and wait

for some opportunity to get back to France. At length a fishing smack was procured at vast expence, and it landed him on the coast of France, when he immediately posted to Paris.

He had not shaved himself from the time he left Ireland and of course his beard was very long and being very black, he had quite a martial air. He was a very fine looking man, about thirty two years of age and he had the most beautiful teeth I ever saw in a man. — John Sweeny was the great friend of Thomas Addis Emmett. They were fellow prisoners at Dublin and at Fort George in Scotland. He was one of those irish patriots who had to exile themselves for « ever » from the land of their birth, in order to get out of confinement, at the peace of Amiens.

Mr Sweeny went afterwards to lodge in the rue de la Loi (now rue Richelieu) along with William Lawless. — We met frequently, and I felt great pleasure in talking with him on irish matters. — Our feelings and opinions perfectly coincided on them. — He was a captain afterwards in the irish legion, but his military career was short, for he resigned his commission after his unfortunate dispute and duel with captain Thomas Corbet, in 1804. — In that duel they were both wounded, but Corbet only survived his wound a few hours. Sweeny went to live at Morlaix. He married there a lady who was related to the family of general Moreau's wife.

With Hugh Ware I was at once on the most intimate

terms. — In our long walks we had always much to say about the fighting in 1798. — Our sympathies on that score, as indeed on almost every thing else, were alike, and a friendship commenced between us in Paris, which augmented in campaign, and on the battle field, and never ceased afterwards. Ware's first cousin Joseph Parrot, who accompanied him to France, and who had shared with him in all the dangers of the insurrection, was without exception one of the most brave and honourable officers that could be. Their means of living, like my own, being limited, we easily agreed on the way to spend our evenings. We generally met and walked in the galerie de bois in the Palais-Royal, where we met other exiles and heard all the news of the day. I frequently met William Lawless, but had scarcely ever any conversation with him; his manner appeared to me rather cold and distant. Of course I was the more surprised one day when he called on me at my lodgings in the rue de la Harpe and said to me, « Mr Byrne, you must not be displeased « if I speak to you on a very serious subject. I under- « stand you are not living as you should. I have therefore « called on you to say, that I can lend you money, be- « cause I know where to apply to get more when my « stock is finished, which probably you may not. » — I of course thanked him in the most grateful manner, and told him, I had still sufficient for another month. « Yes » he replied « but you must not starve yourself. » — We then took a long walk together and met doctor Mac Neven

in the evening by appointment. We dined together and went to the play to see Brunet at the Variétés. It was the first time I had been in a french theatre, and indeed I felt quite proud at being able to understand the french well enough to enjoy the performance of this wonderful comic actor in Jocrisse. When he stumbled in crossing the stage, carrying the buffet, and broke the plates, etc., I got into a great fit of laughter, which pleased both Lawless and Mac Neven, as they thought I was too melancholy, and they were glad to see me so much delighted with the play. I felt very grateful to these worthy patriots for their attention to me at that time.

It was doubly agreeable to me when Mr Emmett was in the country, away from Paris. — I then could see how wrong it is to judge of men too hastily and on a short acquaintance. William Lawless instead of being cold and distant, was the most agreeable, kind, companionable man possible; highly educated, well versed in almost every branch of science, speaking fluently and well, both french and english; in short, had his country obtained her freedom, he would have shone in her senate as a first rate orator, — I had no introduction to Mr Lawless, though I knew his nephew John Lawless, from whom I might have had one before I left Dublin, had I not been hurried away. I therefore felt his generous offer to lend me money in a foreign country the more warmly. — Our friendship ceased not but with death, and I must ever remember him with gratitude and affection for his conduct

on that occasion. — As to my advancement in the french army, it so happened that general Lawless did not do any thing to promote it when he was colonel of the irish regiment in 1813. — In 1808 I was a captain, and William Lawless was still a captain. He however regretted much that I did not get my brevet as superior officer at the same time John Allen and Terence O'Reilly got theirs, viz : in 1814, previous to Napoleon's abdication.

Colonel Lawless lost his leg on the 21st of august 1813, when commandant Ware took the command of the regiment as senior officer; after the battle of Goldberg, two days later, on the 23d of august, Ware was ordered by our general of division Puthod, to propose, or make a memoir of propositions to obtain promotion for those officers whom he said had distinguished themselves under his command during the campaign. Several officers and non-commissioned officers were carried on the proposition for the decoration of the Legion of honour. — We were four captains proposed for the rank of field officer chef de bataillon, equivalent to lieutenant-colonel : Saint-Leger, Allen, O'Reilly and I. — As « senior » I was first on the list and consequently I thought that my commission would be one of the first issued from the war office for the irish regiment, therefore I never once suspected that there would be what the french call a « passe-droit » wrong in the matter.

Captain Allen only obtained the rank which general

Junot, duke of Abrantes, proposed for him in 1810, after he had mounted the breach at the siege of Astorga, where by his bravery and brilliant conduct, the reputation of the irish in the french army received still greater renown. Poor Allen had the misfortune to be taken prisoner coming out of Portugal in 1811, by the Spaniards and he was kept in close confinement till the end o 1812; this prevented him getting his well merited pro motion.

Captain Saint-Leger, one of the bravest and most honourable officers that ever made part of any army; — highly educated in the first colleges at Paris, being of too delicate a constitution to continue the miseries and fatigues of bivouacking as an infantry officer, he quit the regiment and was appointed one of the staff officers of general Maison, the commander and chief of the first corps of the grand army in 1813. — This corps having taken such an active and distinguished part in the campaign of 1814, Saint-Leger was on the point of obtaining his promotion, when the Restoration retarded it.

Captain O'Reilly was the junior by two years of us four; the second battalion to which he now belonged not being yet reorganized, he got leave of absence to go to Paris. — Colonel Lawless was already there and had joined his family. — O'Reilly availed himself of his in

fluence at Paris with the minister of war « Clark » duke of Feltre, and he succeeded in getting his brevet in time, before Napoleon's abdication in 1814.

Both colonel Lawless and O'Reilly got promotion for their brilliant conduct at the siege of Flushing in 1809, fighting against the english there. They had the good fortune to escape, and to save the eagle and the colours of the regiment. That memorable siege was not forgotten for the brave irish who participated in its dangers, and O'Reilly found the remembrance of it facilitated still more at the war office his promotion and the making out of his commission as chef de bataillon. My brevet was prepared and ready to be signed and would have been delivered at the same time, had I been in Paris : but after the disasters at Lowenberg upon the Bober, the 28th of august 1813, where general Puthod was taken prisoner and his division nearly destroyed, we few remaining of the irish regiment who escaped, saving the eagle and our colours, on reaching Bautzen, received an order from prince Berthier who was there with the emperor, to repair to our depot at Bois-le-Duc in Holland. The first battallion to which I belonged, was forthwith re-organized and sent to the advanced posts at Grave on the Meuse, and when Holland was evacuated by the french army in the winter of 1813 and 1814, all our regiment was assembled at Antwerp and made part of the garrison there, during that memorable siege, under the orders of the governor ge-

neral Carnot, 'till the month of april 1814. I had the command of a battalion and was doing the functions of superior, or field officer : so that my disappointement was the greater, when I learned that my brevet had not been signed before Napoleon's abdication, and that O'Reilly who had never taken any part in irish politics, had been named even before Allen, whose services in Spain, and indeed wherever he was employed in the different campaigns of the french army gained such renown as added much to the irish reputation.

It was now too late to seek redress, the Restoration and the hundred days of 1815 put a stop to our military career. So I must again resume my narrative at Paris in 1803.

After William Lawless's friendly offer and kind attention to me, I frequently called on him, and always found him good humoured and agreeable, and generally occupied answering letters. He sometimes would give me one to read, which perhaps he had just received, from lord Cloncary or some other valued patriot, and from the tenour of those letters and his answers to them, I could see that the warmest friendship subsisted between him and his correspondents.

In my visits to Mr Lawless, or to Sweeny who had an apartment in the same hôtel, I was sure to meet some of the irish exiles, who had had to fly from home. Patt Gal-

lagher was one of them. His name will never be forgotten in Dublin, as the brave and faithful body guard to the ever-to-be-lamented lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had been obliged to change frequently his hiding place, from house to house in the Liberty, in order to escape the police of the castle hacks. Gallagher was always one of the most determined of lord Edward's escort when changing his abode. — What a misfortune that half a dozen of such resolute men as Gallagher were not placed at once at Murphy's house in Thomas street! — They would have saved the darling of their heart and Ireland's glory, and would have escaped with him to the Wicklow mountains; then the insurrection would not have been deprived of the enterprizing experience of this valiant soldier, whose presence at our camp, in the commencement would have been equal to a great army, and would certainly have caused a general rising of the patriots throughout Ireland; and the citizens of Dublin would have been saved the eternal disgrace of having allowed this irish chieftain to be sacrificed, without making the least effort in his favour. But indeed the only excuse for them is, that they were taken by surprise and not prepared for the event: though I am sorry to say, that I met in Paris, after the restoration of the Bourbons, Dublin catholic citizens, passing themselves off as patriots, who were not ashamed to say that they thought the infamous Reynold's information a fortunate circumstance. These gentlemen to be sure made part of the merchants and lawyers corps

of yeomanry, and perhaps prided themselves that they escorted lord Edward to prison. Our conversation being a private one, I shall not mention their names ; but an irish catholic historian was not ashamed to give his own opinion in 1846 on Robert Emmett's unsuccessful attempt to free his country and get rid of the insolent protestant ascendency. Viz : « I neither attempt to justify his plans « in 1803, nor do I regret their failure; far from it; I « believe their accomplishment would have been a cala- « mity. » (See : « The united irishmen, their lives and times, » by RR. MADDEN, M. D. Vol. III, page 287.) Surely if lord Edward Fitzgerald and his brave-companions, the patriots of 1798, were justifiable in seeking aid from the french Directory to shake off the english yoke, Robert Emmett must have been doubly justified in 1803, surrounded as he was, by the tried patriots of the time, all of whom agreed with him, that the moment was propitious, when the irish catholic « serfs » had their chains closer rivetted than ever since the detested union with great Britain, and the loss even of the corrupt protestant parliament, which left them no hopes of redress. — Certainly Robert Emmett had every reasonable hope of obtaining assistance from the First Consul Buonaparte, who was at that time so much exasperated against England, on account of her recent bad faith and perfidious conduct in seizing and capturing french merchant vessels before any declaration of war after the peace of Amiens. The First Consul knew well that Ireland was the

weak and vulnerable part where England might be overthrown, and that the irish were ready to rise « en masse, » as soon as an army of ten thousand french troops were landed; the number which had been stipulated for between him and the irish chiefs. How then could any irish catholic acquainted with these circumstances, say, at any time since, that he was glad that Robert Emmett did not succeed? All catholic Ireland being at that period ready to rise, the moment a rallying point offered, with perhaps the exception of some time-serving lord, who would prefer to be a valet at the english court to being an independant senator in his native land; or those timid mercenary would-be-historians or book-makers, to enable them to be mean place beggars. They numbered however very few in Robert Emmett's time, because as catholics, they were not apt to fill situations at the castle of Dublin, or in the provinces.

As I have frequently spoken of all those matters already in my narrative, I must be excused now if I repeat them again, in writing of lord Edward's steady friend Patt Gallagher, who at the formation of the irish Legion in 1803 entered it at the same time I did, with the rank of lieutenant. He soon after was promoted to that of captain, but in 1805, seeing no prospect of an expedition to Ireland, and having an highly accomplished wife and two fine children to provide for, he resigned his commission of captain and retired to Bordeaux, where he set up

as a ship broker, and soon began an extensive business with the neutral maritime countries; but particularly with the Americans of the United States.

Another of the irish exiles of '98 whom I was sure to meet with when I called on Mr Lawless, was, John Tennant, brother to that high-minded patriot William Tennant of Belfast, the friend and fellow prisoner of Arthur O'Connor, and Thomas Addis Emmett. John Tennant in escaping from Ireland, was fortunate enough to have had a sum of money in hand, which he placed advantageously, in the french funds, and the interest of that money quite sufficed for all his expences at Paris. He might have resigned his rank of captain also, having the means of living independantly, but he preferred remaining in the french service, in order to perfect himself in the military profession, that he might be the better able one day to render service to his native country; and having made the memorable campaign of 1799 in Holland, attached to the staff of the french general in chief Brune, who so completely defeated the anglo russian army, commanded by that bigoted, drunken sot of « so help me God » notoriety, the duke of York, Tennant acquired a real liking and taste for the military profession; and his bosom friend Lawless who had made the campaign in Holland with him was equally desirous of seeing real military campaigning under that renowned warrior.

The military career of those two distinguished irish patriots began and ended at the same time. They were named captains the same day in 1803 at the organization of the irish Legion. In 1813 at Lowenberg in Silesia, where Lawless was colonel, commanding the irish regiment, Tennant was chef de bataillon (or lieutenant-colonel) commanding the first battalion of the regiment. On the 19th of august 1813 Tennant was killed in our hollow square, literally cut in two by a cannon ball; and on the 21st of august, the second day after, colonel Lawless at the passage of the Bober, at the town of Lowenberg, and in the presence of Napoleon, had his leg shot off by a cannon ball. It was my painful and melancholy duty to get the grenadiers to dig a grave for poor Tennant, after we had retaken our position and beaten the enemy off the field of battle, on the 19th of august 1813. Whilst the men were preparing the grave, colonel Lawless never ceased weeping, and indeed both the officers and men who were present, were much affected and shed tears of sorrow over poor Tennant's grave. —

On the 21st I had the affliction to see poor Lawless fall off his horse, and to get six grenadiers to carry him on a door, into the town of Lowenberg, where the baron Larrey performed the amputation of his leg. When the boot was cut away, and that he saw plainly the desperate wound, he exclaimed « ah! my poor wife and children! » It was at least soothing to him at the moment, to be told, by the emperor's aide-de-camp, when he came by order to see

him, that he would be general of brigade, and baron of the empire. Lawless was named general after some time, but he never got the title of baron — the Restoration of the Bourbons put a stop to Napoleon's promotions. —

Previous to going into campaign, John Tennant willed the little property he had to his daughter. Richard Mac Cormick being his executor, had the little girl educated with great care in a couvent at Paris, and when he was allowed to return from exile, he took his lamented friend Tennant's daughter with him to Dublin, where she married a gentleman of the name of Murray.

When I arrived at Paris in 1803, the two Corbets were employed as professors of english; the eldest brother Thomas, at the Prytanée, and William at the military college of Saint-Cyr. — The latter, tho' a very young man at that time, had already acquired a great reputation as a patriot and sufferer for his country's freedom. He was one of the students of Trinity college, Dublin, expelled in 1797, along with Robert Emmett, for being suspected of having « united-irish-men's principles, » but his worst crime was, for having been present at an aggregate meeting held in the roman catholic chapel in Francis street, for the purpose of getting petitions signed to obtain the emancipation of the irish catholics. Several speakers made a great display of eloquence at that meeting; but Edward Lewens surpassed them all. He became so exhausted at the end of his speech, that he

fainted away, and was carried off from the meeting. My step-brother Edward Kennedy was present at that meeting, and he often told me of the great sensation Lewens caused. The presence too of the students from Trinity college was hailed with rapturous applause.

The Corbets escaped to France, and like the other irish exiles, were embarked from time to time on expeditions to Ireland. — William Corbet was one of the four irish patriots given up to the english consul Crawford on the 24th november 1798, at Hamburg, by that vile city and senate, which in consequence of this cowardly act, became disgraced in the sight of every civilized country in the world. The four victims were, general Napper Tandy, Harvey Morris, Blackwell and William Corbet. They were imprisoned for many months at Hambourg, and then chained and embarked on board an english ship of the line for Ireland; then put into Kilmainham jail, Dublin, there to wait their trial and execution, which would soon have taken place, had not Buonaparte become all powerful as First Consul at the head of the french government about that time. The english ministry no doubt feared he might make reprisals, but be that as it may, Tandy and his fellow prisoners from Hamburg, were kept in prison, till the peace of Amiens, though Tandy's trial and acquital took place on the 19th of may 1800. William Corbet made a fortunate escape from Kilmainham prison, by means of a rope ladder, and got safely back to France.

At the formation of the irish legion at Morlaix in 1803, the two brothers Thomas and William Corbet, were named captains in it; but poor Thomas Corbet did not long enjoy his rank; he fell in the duel he fought with captain Sweeny at Lesneven in 1804.

Captain William Corbet was more fortunate, though he often met with difficulties. He finished his career honourably and bravely. At the coronation of the emperor in 1804, captains William Corbet and Tennant were sent to Paris to receive the standard with the eagle, and the irish colours for the legion. — In 1805 Corbet and other officers of the legion, were detached from Quimper, to escort young soldiers to the Tyrol and Venice. — In 1806 Corbet retired on half pay and resumed his former situation as professor of english at the military college of Saint-Cyr. After remaining there more than a year, he thought it would be unworthy of him to continue, whilst war was going on, and all his comrades seeing real military service in campaign. He therefore solicited to be again-put into active service. On account of his brother's infortunate duel, whilst in the irish legion, he had no desire to return to it; he was employed as captain in the 70th regiment of the line, formerly « Berwick's, » and he made the campaigns of Spain and Portugal with this regiment, where there were still some of the irish brigade officers, such as captain Brannan and others, whom I often met, brave and worthy men.

The 70th regiment suffered much during the retreat

from Portugal, and the battalion to which captain Corbet belonged, lost more than half of its officers and men. The colonel was killed at the head of the battalion, where Corbet shewed great calmness and bravery; he lost in the colonel his best friend, on whom he counted would have proposed him immediately for advancement.

On the 3d of may 1811, Marshal Massena had his army concentrated near the town of Ciudad Rodrigo, for the purpose of relieving the town of Almeida, occupied by general Brenier and a french garrison of fifteen hundred men and besieged by the english army. I here saw captain William Corbet for the first time after his quitting the irish Legion in 1806; tho' we made part of the same army, being of different divisions, we did not meet 'till this day, the evening before the battle of Fuentes Onoro, the 5th of may 1811. Corbet had very little to eat, fortunately I was better off and shared with him some of my bread and wine, sufficient at least for that night.

After the battle, marshal Masséna was replaced in the command of the army of Portugal by marshal Marmont. The latter enquiring in the different regiments for an intelligent officer who could speak and write english and french correctly, to be attached to his staff, captain Corbet was appointed, and he soon evinced that he was equal to the task. Being continually obliged to interrogate english prisoners and to draw up written reports, he shortly afforded great satisfaction to the general in

chief Marmont, and soon became one of his favourite staff officers, along with Fabvier, captain Denys Damrémont, Baraguay-d'Hiliers, etc., and I must say of Corbet, that I always found him ready to avail himself of his influence with the marshal, to render service to his comrades.

Captain Allen, who had so brilliantly distinguished himself at the siege of Astorga in 1810, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner coming out of Portugal in the month of march 1811, by the spanish chief of guerrillas Don Julian. Several months elapsed before we had any tidings of Allen at the regiment; we feared the worst, when one morning in the month of september 1811, being with the battalion at the head quarters of marshal Marmont, at Placencia in Estramadura in Spain, I received a letter from Allen, dated from a fort near Cadix, telling me of all he had suffered; the four sabre wounds he had been afflicted with, and the cruel treatment he had received from the spaniards on his way to prison; but of all thing beseeching me to exert myself in every way possible, to have him exchanged, before being handed over to the english government, as it was expected every moment that an order would be given to have all the prisoners then confined in the spanish forts, sent forthwith to english prisons. — I shewed Allen's letter to Corbet, who went instantly to marshal Marmont, to pray him to use his influence to save Allen from falling into the hands of his cruel enemies the English. — Marshal

Marmont wrote the same day to marshal Victor, who then commanded the french army before Cadix, to have captain Allen, if possible, one of the first prisoners to be exchanged against a spanish officer, no matter what the rank, explaining Allen's cruel situation, were he to be handed over to the english. Captain Corbet exerted himself judiciously and assisted me on this occasion like a good irish patriot. He could not forget his own sad situation at Hamburg, when the cowardly senate of a neutral State gave him up to the tender mercies of his enemies at Dublin. — I sent by the same post with the marshal's despatch, a thousand francs to general Somelin chief of the staff of the french army before Cadix, praying him to have it remitted to poor Allen in his prison; which was carefully done, without loss on the exchange.

Captain Corbet continued on marshal Marmont's staff 'till the battle of Salamanca on the 22^{d} of july 1812 where the marshal was badly wounded, and had to leave the command of the army to general Clausel.

Commandant O'Neill of the 47th regiment (formerly Walsh's of the irish brigade), being wounded on the field of battle, and taken prisoner by the english, captain Corbet was named chef de bataillon to replace him in the 47th, and he being well known to general Clausel, felt some relief for being deprived of marshal Marmont's protection.

As soon as Marmont's wounds were a little healed, he

got the command of a corps at the grand army with Napoleon in Germany; he asked to have commandant Corbet of the 47th regiment employed in his staff, which request was at once granted, and Corbet left Spain with much pleasure, to go and join the grand army, and to be once more under the orders of marshal Marmont. He had the satisfaction at the same time to see his young brother Frederick Corbet appointed sous-lieutenant in the 147th regiment. He was 18 years of age and just come from college, to begin a long and honourable military career. I met this young man for the first time in Saxony, a few days before the battle of Lutzen. His school fellow lieutenant Saint-Leger introduced him to me.

It will suffice to show the active service colonel Corbet witnessed at that side of the Rhine in 1813, to say that he was at the battles of Lutzen the 2d may; Bautzen 20th may; Wurtzen the 21st, Dresden the 26th august; Leipzick the 18th october, and Hanau the 30th of october 1813, the last on the other side of the Rhine; then add, the memorable campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in France, the battles and combats down to the abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and it will be seen, that few officers saw more active service during that period than Corbet. In consequence, he was raised to the rank of colonel, and was fortunate enough to get his brevet in time before Napoleon abdicated.

After the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, colonel Corbet was named chief of the staff to the duke d'Aumont,

who commanded the military district at Caen, in the department of Calvados, Normandy. —

Napoleon landing from the isle of Elba on the 7th of march 1815, his rapid march on Paris without an obstacle, joined every where on his way, not only by the population en masse, but by the troops of every garrison town, where this news so fatal to the Bourbon dynasty had reached, the general duke d'Aumont at once decided to quit his command; he proposed to the chief of his staff, colonel Corbet, to accompany him to England, assuring him that the government of that country would be too happy to grant him a gracious pardon, etc. To all this Corbet replied, that he could never think of deserting France, his adopted country; that he thought the french had a right to govern themselves and to choose the form of government best suited to their wants, and as to himself, he would continue to serve faithfully and honourably as he had hitherto done, no matter what that form was.

Colonel Corbet had at this critical moment, the satisfaction of being useful to his general; he saw the duke d'Aumont safely embarked and sail for the english coast, without molestation or hinderance from the citizens of Caen.

After the battle of Waterloo on the 18th of june 1815, and Napoleon's second abdication, colonel Corbet was

placed on the list of half-pay officers and allowed to reside at Paris. He was not employed till 1828, when the french government sent an army to free the Greeks from their cruel turkish bondage. Corbet and I solicited the minister of war, to have the honour to be employed on this expedition. Our request was granted, and we set off on the 8th of august 1828 for Toulon, where we embarked for Greece, in the second division, commanded by general Schneider. We landed and joined general Maison at his camp before Navarino; here we separated. Colonel Corbet got the command of Navarino and the citadel, after Ibrahim Pasha and the Egyptians had capitulated and evacuated the country. I was sent to Patras, and after the siege of the castle of Morée, I was named to command this fortress 'till 1829, when by order of marshal Maison, I delivered it up to the greek troops, and went from thence to Coron, where I had the pleasure some months later, to install a greek garrison in it, and from thence I went to Navarino, where colonel Corbet commanded, and there, after the revolution of 1830, I received my commission of chef de bataillon in the 56th regiment of the line, then at Grenoble in France, and commanded by colonel, afterwards marshal, Bugeaud. — I cannot forget the day this illustrious soldier received his brevet of general, in april 1831, how little he seemed to value it, on account of twenty other colonels being named at the same time, and an expression made use of in the chamber of deputies that general's commissions were

thrown as litter on this occasion, vexed him still more. He said to me, « I see on this list of promotions, a colonel « Corbet, who is on the staff in Greece; of course you « know him, what are his services? etc. » I told him that Corbet was named chef de bataillon at the battle of Salamanca in the 47th and that he served in the infantry. « Then « he replied » he will know how to command and « manœuvre troops, not like many staff officers, who get « advancement though they never manœuvred a com- « pany. » — He added, that chef de bataillon was the rank he himself had in 1812, in marshal Suchet's corps of army and he was satisfied that general Corbet merited his promotion from all I told him on the matter.

When William Corbet received his commission of maréchal-de-camp (major general) he was appointed to command at Argos, and he remained in Greece 'till the french army of occupation there evacuated that country and left the Greeks free in 1833; and when he arrived in France he got the command of the district of Caen, department of Calvados, and afterwards at Tulle. In this last town he remained till he attained the age of 62. Then, by the regulations of the army, he was placed in the cadre de reserve. In 1840 he came to reside in Paris, and seemed to enjoy his new position. Receiving his full pay, and only liable to be called on in case of war, he took handsome lodgings, and became a member of the circle or club on the Italian boulevards, spending his time

agreeably enough, 'till 1842, when his health began rapidly to decline. His brother thinking that change of air might do him good, took him to Saint-Denis, where he was himself employed, as aide-de-camp to general Gazan. But nothing could remedy the disease of the heart he had, and of which he died on the 12th of august 1842. He was buried in the cémetery of Montmartre, where his affectionate brother has had a handsome monument erected to him. — General Corbet was officer of the Legion of honour, knight of Saint-Louis, and commander of the order of the Saviour in Greece. He valued those distinctions as highly honourable no doubt, but he would sometimes say : « how much the more valuable, would they have « been, had they been gained in the cause of my native « country! » And to his last moment he lamented that her independence was not obtained; and he seemed ever anxious for some thing to arise between the governments of France and England which might prove beneficial to his own country.

In 1840 we frequently consulted about the way we could be best employed to serve Ireland, in the event of a war between France and England, which was then on the point of being declared. I remember one day, after an audience he had had with the minister of war on the situation of Ireland, he told me, that the minister, general Schneider, was very desirous to have a conversation with me, respecting the reliance which could be placed on the

« then Leader » of the irish, when a french army should land in Ireland. — When he saw that there was to be no war with England, he would speak to me of going to the United States of America, being sure, he said, that from that country one day or other, Ireland would receive ultimate assistance etc. I think it only justice to Corbet's memory to mention all these circumstances.

In the year 1798 Drogheda, like many other towns in Ireland, at that period, saw her best citizens tortured and imprisoned; two of them however, Thomas Burgess and Toney Mac Can, had the good fortune to escape this cruel persecution and get safely to Hamburg; there by chance, they met Thomas Campbell, the poet : that generous, highminded scotchman, hearing their sad story, was struck with pity for their fate, and sympathizing in their patriotism and love of liberty, and touched by seeing men so young, forced to abandon for ever the land of their birth, because they had wished to see it happy and independent, and inspired by all his finest feelings, wrote the beautiful and melancholy verses « the Exile of Erin » which alone would entitle him to be ranked as a great poet. —

Burgess and Mac Can hastened to Paris to offer their services to the french Republick, then governed by a Directory. They met Theobald Wolfe Tone at Paris; he was preparing to go on another expedition to liberate his

country, and he trusted it would be more successful than the one under Hoche; but alas! he again was disappointed, and fell a victim to the great zeal and courage which he displayed on this last occasion. Ireland should ever be proud of him and do honour to his memory.

Thomas Burgess embarked in that expedition to Ireland; not being in the same ship with Wolfe Tone, he escaped back to France. He had a still more fortunate escape at Hamburg on the 24th of november 1798, for he sailed in the same expedition and vessel with general Napper Tandy, and came with him to Hamburg after it had failed. Not being in the hotel at the time Tandy, Morris, Blackwell and Corbet were arrested and imprisoned, Burgess escaped with the other irish exiles remaining there, to Altona in Denmark, where the public authorities were not base enough to listen to the english agents there.

When Burgess returned to Paris, having a taste for the fine arts, he betook himself to painting, and studied under the auspices of the celebrated painter « David; » after very assiduous application, he became a connoisseur, so much so, that despairing of success, he abandoned the pursuit. He got over from Ireland his younger brother John, whom he got placed in the military college of the Prytanée of Paris, where he studied, until he got his commission as a sub-lieutenant in the irish legion at its formation in 1803.

Thomas Burgess knew music, played on the harp, guitar and violin. He lived beyond measure frugally, in order, he said, to be able to assist his nieces, his brother John's daughters, in London. On his death in 1848, he left all he possessed, three or four thousand pounds to his nieces. — Arthur Barker and William Hampden Lawless were the executors. The latter had a good deal of trouble, but finally succeeded in having the business arranged to the satisfaction of the misses Burgess.

Poor Thomas Burgess had in reality a generous temper and was of an obliging disposition towards his friends, but without meaning any harm, he caused often serious differences between them, forgetting that a private conversation should not be repeated, except when authorized by the person with whom it has been held.

In 1803 I met one day at the London coffee house in the rue Jacob, William Putnam Mac Cabe, the well known active organizer of the united irish system, and the great confident of lord Edward Fitzgerald. He seemed desirous to know how I had made my escape from Dublin; when I told him I had an American passport, he asked me to lend it him for a few days and that he would return it to me safely. — I did give it him, but could not get it from him, until I sent my friend Hugh Ware to wait on him, to whom he gave it instantly, making some

silly excuse for having kept it so long, as, that he did not suppose I could ever want it, now that I had my commission as a french officer. — I could perceive that the mass of the irish exiles then in Paris, were astonished at the great facility with which Putnam Mac Cabe could so frequently pass over to England and Ireland, and return to France in the time of war. In one of his voyages, he brought over young John Burgess, to be placed in college at Paris; and in another part of my narrative, I have mentioned having met Putnam Mac Cabe at Antwerp in 1807. He then had two ladies with him, whom he brought from Dublin, Mrs Berthemy, sister to the celebrated Henry Flood, and her daughter. Our regiment being then in garrison there, we invited these ladies and Mac Cabe to dine with us at the hotel du Lion-d'Or, where we had our mess table. — Mac Cabe shewed us a beautiful rich case of pistols, he was bringing, he said, to offer as a present to his friend general Arthur O'Connor. This was the last time I ever saw Mac Cabe ; though we were both residing at Paris in 1820, and that I often heard of him from one of my comrades, captain Mac Guire, who was in the habit of visiting him : still it so happened, we never met. The truth is, I did not want to renew his acquaintance : I had heard so many contradictory versions about his different escapes in Ireland, that I had my doubts about the disinterestedness of his patriotism. On his death in january 1821, captain Mac Guire wrote to Mr Nesbet who was then at Bordeaux that

Putnam Mac Cabe had named him one of his executors. Some short time after, Mac Guire told me that Nesbet and Mac Cabe's daughter were married.

Much indeed has been said on the failure of Mac Cabe's cotton spinning speculations at the town of Rouen, by some of the persons who were engaged with him in the enterprise, MM. Glashan, J. Smith and others; but for my own part, I never could clearly understand whose fault it was that the manufactory did not succeed : one thing is certain, that that worthy irish patriot Philip Long lost a good deal of money in the concern.

Of Putnam Mac Cabe's money transactions and the mortgage he had on general Arthur O'Connor's estate in Ireland, I only learned by the lawsuit in the court of justice at Orleans, which took place after the restoration of the Bourbons in France, and which was published at the time in the newspapers of the day. That general O'Connor had to use his influence with the duke of Feltre, to keep Mac Cabe out of the difficulties resulting from his too frequent excursions to the other side of the Channel during the war between France and England, there cannot be the slightest doubt.

Of the many fine fellows who had to escape from Ireland after general Humbert's capitulation there in august 1798 and whom I met at Paris, counsellor James Joseph

Mac Donald was one of the most distinguished. They were all no doubt equally brave and zealous in their country's cause, but he seemed to possess the talents, acquirements and energy necessary to become a great leader : he was handsome and well informed, and he spoke the french language fluently. — General Humbert at once appointed Mac Donald to be one of his generals, to command the irish forces flocking to join his standard when he landed on the irish coast, and to have them armed and organized forthwith in the best way possible, under the urgent exigency of the moment; and Humbert in his report to the Directory, said, that if he had had a sufficient force to have made a longer stand in the country, that Mac Donald would have been invaluable to him, that he was enterprising and quite equal to the difficult task he was entrusted with. — At the formation of the irish legion in 1803, counsellor Mac Donald was greatly disappointed and vexed to find that he was to be only a captain in the legion ; he expected at least to be named a field officer, if not a general, the rank which he had held with Humbert in Ireland ; he therefore refused to take his commission of captain, and did not join with us the french army at Brest, which was destined for Ireland. As none but men holding commissions or enrolled in the service of the irish legion were to be allowed to make part of the expedition, lest the discipline might suffer, it was prohibited to volunteers, not enrolled, to embark, and Mac Donald on learning these regulations and after

remaining a month or two at Paris, took his brevet of captain and came and joined the legion in the neighbourhood of Brest; but in consequence of an altercation he had with adjutant general Mac Sheehy, who was then commanding the legion, he resigned his commission and went to reside at Cadix in Spain, where several of his relations had been settled in commerce. His first cousin James Mac Donald, a fine spirited young man, who escaped with him, died a short time before I reached Paris, much regretted by all the refugees.

Captain John Murphy commanding a trading vessel, happened to be in the bay of Killalo when general Humbert effected his landing on the irish coast in 1798. The french general wished to send off a despatch to inform his government of the happy event, and Murphy being a true irish patriot, immediately volunteered to be the bearer of it, which delighted Humbert, for he feared that a french ship would have little chance of escaping the english cruisers. The brave Murphy undertook this perilous task to serve and redeem his beloved native land, well aware that he sailed with a rope about his neck; for had he been taken with french despatches he would have been hanged forthwith at the mast head. But no seafaring man then living knew better than Murphy the irish coast, the english Channel, and the french Harbours, and every corner and bay where a vessel could approach the french shore, he being much engaged in the smuggling

line; he therefore escaped and reached the french shore in the shortest time that ever a passage was performed. On landing Murphy instantly posted to Paris to present general Humbert's despatches to the french government, and the reception he met with was gracious, and flattering indeed to an irish heart. The Directory instantly presented him with pistols of honour. These and sabres were then offered to the brave men who distinguished themselves in the service of their country, as the decoration of the Legion of honour is now accorded for similar brilliant actions, and services rendered to the state. — Captain Murphy was then put at the disposition of the minister of the marine, who had him carried on the Navy « contrôle » or list of the officers of the french Navy, and at a later period, the First Consul named him « Grand Pilot » to the french fleet at Brest, with the rank of captain of a frigate, equivalent to lieutenant-colonel in the army. Murphy enjoyed the pay and emoluments of this rank 'till the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, when he was put « en retraite, » with a miserable pension of eight hundred francs a year,

With his means of living thus reduced, and having his wife and six children in Ireland, to whom he had to send regular support, poor Murphy had to apply to rich merchants at Nantes for employment. The merchants knowing his skill and experience as a navigator gave him the command of a fine ship, with which he made many successful voyages, to different parts of the world; particu-

larly to the coast of Patagonia, in South America, where the sea elephant fishery proved very profitable to his employers. In 1823 he was returning to Europe with a large cargo of fish, oil, etc., etc., when the crew of his vessel mutinied, and seized him, his second in command, and the mate of the vessel. All three were locked down, and chained, and treated in the most cruel manner. The sailors were tempted to this act having heard at sea that Spain and France were at war; they thought they could run the ship into a spanish sea-port town and there sell her and the cargo with safety; but after fifteen day's vain efforts to reach the spanish coast, they became so terrified at their perilous situation, that they brought the mate of the vessel on deck, and told him, if he steered them safely into a spanish sea-port, he should get the greatest part of the prize money, when the ship and cargo was sold, and that if he did not consent, they would kill him instantly, and then ask the second in command to comply with their request. The poor mate told them at once he was ready to follow their orders, and after sailing and tacking about for two days more, one fine night the mate told these ignorant ruffians, that they were then on the spanish coast, and that to escape the french cruizers he would steer the ship into the bay they saw before them, where they could pass the night without risk, by putting up spanish colours. Next morning at day light, their vessel was boarded by a french sloop of war in the Bay of Douarnenez, four leagues from Quimper, department of

Finisterre in France and not in Spain. — Captain Murphy was then unchained, and he resumed the command of the ship. The sailors were all arrested and sent off to Brest, where they were tried and condemned to imprisonment and the galleys, etc. I met Murphy at Paris, after this misadventure, and he was still looking stout and well, but not what he was when I first saw him in 1803. He was then quite a splendid man, more than six feet two inches in height, athletic and well proportioned and about fifty years of age. He was considered one of the best racket players that could be met with. He was simple and unassuming, and always generous and friendly to his countrymen. — Being in garrison at Nantes with my regiment the 56th of the line, in 1835, I saw poor Murphy there for the last time, quite broken down, and like his countryman Hamilton Rowan, who had been very tall, become low in stature before he died. — They were however, more than eighty years of age before this change took place. Murphy's family lived near Rush, and some members of it in the county of Meath.

It would seem that the refugees of every nation, in their misfortunes, away from their homes, are apt to have their disputes and disagreements on politics; it is not wonderful then that the irish exiles had theirs. Captain Murphy kept free of parties as much as he could, and he enjoyed, I may say without exception, the esteem of all his countrymen in France. Indeed he was looked up to as a kind of oracle through whom good tidings would be

announced. I cannot forget how we used to say, that it augured well for us, when Murphy was sent for by the minister of the marine, and that he passed the day at the hotel of the admiralty, place de la Concorde, with the french admirals in council, who were appointed to command the Brest fleet.

I also recollect, that in 1804, when our regiment was in garrison at Lesneven, five leagues from Brest, with what glee four or five of us would set out on horseback, to dine with the worthy captain Murphy at Brest, and return the same evening, after we had visited those beautiful ships of the line, 25 in number, with transport vessels, sufficient to embark the three divisions of Augereau's corps of army, just returned from the spanish frontier, and now destined for Ireland. In short, captain Murphy was a favourite with all the irish officers, and much considered by the french Navy.

Mr John Gibbons a wealthy gentleman of the county of Mayo, and upwards of seventy years of age, had to fly from his home, altho' he took no part in the general rising of the people to aid the french on their landing. His son Ned, being taken prisoner after general Humbert's capitulation, was condemned to be hung, and the rope was about his neck, when some humane person interfering, his sentence was commuted, and he was transported to Botany Bay for life. But the father after hiding in the mountains for some time, and learning that all his pro-

perty had been plundered and destroyed, escaped to Paris, and at the formation of the irish legion in 1803, being told it would be necessary to hold some rank in order to be allowed to embark in the expedition for Ireland, replied, that he was ready to accept that of corporal sooner than remain behind.

He got a commission of lieutenant, but poor man, he did not long enjoy his military life, for he died at Antwerp in 1807. He had however the great satisfaction of seeing his son Ned before he died, the latter having escaped from Botany Bay, and got his brevet as a sous-lieutenant in the legion. — This young man could never forget the shock he got at the foot of the gallows in Ireland.

He fought bravely at Flushing in 1809, in the irish battalion, commanded by colonel Lawless; the latter being badly wounded there, could not tell whether Ned Gibbons was killed or made prisoner by the english troops when they entered Flushing. Nor did the council of administration of the irish regiment in France, ever hear what had become of two very distinguished officers, lieutenants Gilmor and Eagar. They were with colonel Lawless when he was wounded, and if they escaped, they could have returned to France after the restoration, and have received their pay up to 1814, for five years, which was due to them, and which was paid to captain Mac Mahon and others who were taken at Flushing. They were then at liberty to quit, if it suited them.

Austin O'Mally was another of the brave Connaught exiles whom I met in 1803 at Paris, and from what I saw of him in the campaigns we made together afterwards, he must indeed have rendered great service to the french in 1798, at the battle of Castlebar, by marching at the head of his fellow countrymen who joined general Humbert; for he feared no danger, and fighting seemed to him a pastime, and without being bad tempered or quarrelsome captain O'Mally was very often engaged in duels, and always got out of them honourably. — In one he had at Carraix in 1804 with the adjutant major whom he wounded, this officer being a friend of general Mac Sheehy's the latter through spite, sent O'Mally as a prisoner to the chateau of Brest for fifteen days; a most unjust punishment, for his antagonist was in fault. Captain Hugh Ware (afterwards colonel) was O'Mally's second and captain William O'Meara (afterwards general), was second to the adjutant major. Those brave and honourable seconds shewed fair play, but they could not prevent the duel.

The battalion to which captain O'Mally belonged, being in garrison at Bergen-op-Zoom in 1812, he was sent from thence with his company to one of the dutch Islands on that coast, where he married the daughter of a french officer who commanded the place. Whether the great difference of the spanish climate, from which country he had just arrived, and where he had spent nearly five years, from that of Holland, contributed to his misfortune, losing his sight completely, could not be well

ascertained; but probably, the sudden transition from heat to damp and cold might have accelerated poor O'Mally's blindness. — Like a true hero, he now shewed more courage than ever. He bore up with his cruel situation, with the fortitude becoming a soldier and an irish patriot, and only lamented that he could no more hope to be useful to his dear native land. He was still cheerful, and his conversation more agreeable than before he became blind.

Captain O'Mally had two sons, and he obtained for the eldest, when he was nine years of age, a bourse at the military college of La Flèche, and from thence he was sent to the military college of Saint-Cyr, to complete his studies; and poor captain O'Mally had the satisfaction of seeing him named officer in 1835, with the rank of sous-lieutenant in the 15th leger regiment then in Africa. — Young O'Mally soon distinguished himself there; he studied and learnt the arabic language quickly, and for that was employed in every expedition which took place in the district. Often in the most perilous situations, young O'Mally rendered the most important service to his division, by his bravery and knowledge of the arabic; consequently he got very rapid promotion from rank to rank, and having been promoted to that of lieutenant-colonel in a regiment just as it received orders for the East, when the russian war broke out, he had a wider field to shew his military skill, and before Sebastopol was taken, he was promoted to the rank of full colonel and got the command of the 73d regiment.

One of the bad effects in Ireland, and one of the many grievances produced by the protestant ascendency was, that which forced the young catholic clergy to go to France and other foreign countries to finish their studies to render them fit for the situation of priests in their native country. This was seen in 1798. — Could it be expected that young men educated in France, would not sympathize with all their heart and soul with a french army landing on the coast to drive their tyrants and task masters from the land? It would have been unnatural if they did not. — Father Gannan was one of those who studied in France, and immediately on the french landing in Ireland, he came and offered his services to general Humbert, who at once appointed him his « fournisseur général, » or furnisher of provisions. In this situation Father Gannan was not only useful to the French, but he rendered the greatest service to the inhabitants of the country, wherever the army passed; and as he spoke french fluently, he soon became a great favorite with the french officers; his appearance commanded respect, as he was tall and handsome with dignified, agreeable manners. — As general Humbert when he capitulated to lord Cornwallis, could obtain no terms for the irish who joined him, Father Gannan had to suffer great misery, hiding in the Cunnamara mountains, before he could escape. He at length got away in a vessel bound for Lisbon, from which town he wrote at once to the french ambassador at Madrid, Lucien Buonaparte, who invited him kindly

to come and spend some time in the spanish capital; after remaining there a short while, he proceeded to Paris, where he got the best reception. — When I first made his acquaintance at Paris in 1803, he was parish priest of a village near Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and I recollect walking out to see him along with J. Fitzhenry, one morning, and we spent two very agreeable days there. We were invited to take tea at Mr Thomas Addis Emmett's; he lived in the neighbourhood, and Mrs Emmett told me how glad she always was to see Father Gannan coming to the house, for her husband's spirits were always cheered by his visits and conversation, as he was never desponding about Ireland.

After the first restoration of the Bourbons, Father Gannan got a better parish near Tours, and on account of the great number of irish catholics who took up their residence there, he found it agreeable enough; but after the hundred days and the second restoration, he, like others of his country was made to feel the effects of those sudden changes.

A law having passed appointing almoners to every regiment in the army, Father Gannan obtained his commission as almoner at Lille; in this situation, half clerical, half military, he finished honourably his long career; but he was ever regretting his « sweet home. »

I met also at Paris in 1803, another of those irishmen who had to come abroad and beg his way, in order to complete his education. He openly declared, that he owed

no kind of allegiance to an English unmerciful, bigotted monarch, who kept his country in bondage.

Captain O'Kean had taken orders in France, but when he saw all the european tyrants declare war against the liberties of that nation, he at once volunteered to serve his adopted country as a soldier. He soon distinguished himself on the field of battle and was raised to the rank of captain; which rank he held in general Humbert's little army, landing from the bay of Killalo on the irish coast on the 22d of august 1798. At the battle of Castlebar O'Kean was highly complimented for his undaunted bravery and exertions, by the french general in chief Humbert. He knowing well that part of Ireland, and speaking equally fluently, english, french and irish, rendered the greatest service on many occasions, where had it not been for his humane exertions, many would have suffered severely, and although all this was averred and attested by the protestant Bishop of Killalo, still poor O'Kean narrowly escaped being put to death after Humbert had capitulated, like Tone's brother and others.

A detailed account of this expedition, from its sailing from the French coast, with general Humbert's final surrender, the manner in which the french prisoners were treated on their way to prison, their exchange and return to France, etc., was written by captain O'Kean. He being ordered to rejoin his regiment, the 65th of the line, gave his manuscript to doctor Mac Neven, who promised to

have it published, along with other narratives he was then collecting from those other exiles who had fought in the insurrection of 1798, and I remember Hugh Ware very busy making out a clear copy of O'Kean's manuscript for doctor Mac Neven, which was rather difficult, as the notes were sometimes written in latin, sometimes in english and sometimes in irish. These difficulties were surmounted however, both being good latin scholars, and doctor Mac Neven knowing the irish language well.

Captain O'Kean served with distinction in many campaigns in Germany; particularly at the defence of Ratisbon in 1809, where his regiment alone, commanded by colonel Coutard, defended the place against thirty thousand austrian troops.

At the siege of Astorga in Spain, the irish regiment and O'Kean's, the 65th of the line, formed the same brigade commanded by general Thomier, and there O'Kean was delighted to see his countryman John Allen mount the breach in so gallant a manner; and as the irish regiment continued to be brigaded with the 65th during the campaigns in Portugal, in 1810 and 1811, we saw O'Kean almost daily, which was a mutual pleasure; for he was good humoured and generous to a degree. He never would let the irish officers pass his quarters, or bivouack without entertaining them to the best of his means. He was a true admirer of the hospitality of his ancestors.

When the order of the legion of honour was decreed by

the First Consul, captain O'Kean was amongst the first of his corps who were decorated with this cross : « The star of the brave. » After the second Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, poor O'Kean retired on a pension, quite cast down to think that there was no more chance for his beloved country for hope from France, then ruled by the influence of lord Castlereagh, the enemy of her greatness and happiness, as he was of the nationality of Poland, and indeed of the liberties of every other country on the face of the globe. How could any good be expected from one, who, when young, betrayed and sold his native land, and then finished by bringing a cloud of falsity and hypocrisy over the fame of the nation that allowed him to govern her so long?

Captain Macguire told me that when he was taken prisoner off the coast of Ireland, he had just time to dress himself in the uniform of a private soldier, which happened to fit him tolerably well, and as the prisoners were brought to Scotland, where they remained until they were exchanged, he had the good fortune to escape safely back to France, without being discovered to be an English subject. He told me also, that the french prisoners were very well treated in the scotch depots, which was a great contrast to the harsh treatment they had to endure in England at the same period. — Captain Macguire resided at Paris till he got his commission for the irish legion in 1803. After the Hundred Days in 1815, he retired on a

pension, which he did not enjoy long, as he died in his lodgings at the arsenal rue Saint-Antoine in the year 1822.

I met Jeremiah Fitzhenry at Paris in 1803. He had taken an active part in the county of Wexford insurrection in 1798, being with Bagnal Harvey at the battle of New Ross on the 5th of june. — After the execution of his wife's brother, John Colclough, he feared he could no longer remain with safety in Ireland. He accordingly came over to France with his wife and his two little girls. He went to reside at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where he met his friend and countryman, Mr William Barker, who had been living there with his family, after he had escaped from Enniscorthy and had lost his arm at the battle of Vinegar hill.

Fitzhenry's lady was brought to bed of another little girl at Saint-Germain, and he seeing that hostilities were on the point of breaking out between France and England in 1803, hastened to send his wife and their three children back to Ireland : remaining in France himself, to share with his countrymen there, the danger and the honour of making part of another expedition to Ireland, which was expected to sail shortly from Brest.

At the formation of the irish legion on the 7th december 1803, Jeremiah Fitzhenry got his commission in it of captain.

As I have taken notes of the services and campaigns of

the different battalions composing this legion, I must refer to the narrative I have written on the subject, for an account of Fitzhenry's military career, which began so brilliantly in Spain, but with sorrow I say it, terminated so badly there. It requires a short extract to shew why he changed.

In 1808 there was an order from the minister of war, for six hundred men of the irish legion then at Flushing to march to Spain; Fitzhenry being the senior captain had the command of them. At Pampeluna he joined the irish battalion of the legion that had been at Madrid from 1807, now greatly reduced by sickness and hard service on the retreat with king Joseph behind the Ebro. — Fitzhenry was ordered to reorganize this battalion with the reinforcements which he brought from Holland and which he did with surprizing activity and promptitude.

The governor of Pampeluna, lieutenant-general count de Buisson, witnessing all this, hastened to represent to the emperor and prince Berthier, both then in Spain, the fitness of Fitzhenry to command a regiment, etc. — He had certainly the experience and qualities to be a first rate field officer. No man rode better than he did : he was then well mounted. He had two very fine horses, and he soon shewed he could command better on horseback than on foot, and he looked even much better when mounted. He was a very handsome man, six feet high, and about thirty six years of age, when he received his brevet as

chef de bataillon, signed by prince Berthier the 16th december 1808.

Fitzhenry and his splendid battalion, more than eight hundred strong, all well disciplined and well equipped, got orders to march to make part of the army then forming at Burgos, to be sent against general sir John Moore and the English. The death of this general, and the embarking of his troops at Corunna put an end to this march. — Fitzhenry got orders to stop at Burgos with his battalion, where he had the honour a short time after to have it under arms to receive Napoleon, who was then on his way back to France. The emperor had no other guards but the irish troops during the hour and a half which he spent in the bishop's palace, and general Darmignac who commanded then at Burgos, gave a most favourable account to his majesty of the irish battalion, of Fitzhenry and the officers, speaking in the most flattering terms of their military instruction, etc. It is true many of them, such as Ware, Allen, Parrott, Saint-Leger and others, were quite capable of commanding in a superior rank to that which they held, and Fitzhenry having such officers to assist him, rendered no doubt his command more easy and agreeable. Without vanity, I pride myself on having been one of them; we were not only comrades, but we lived together like brothers ; and this made hard service and privations often less felt than they otherwise would have been.

General Thiebaud who replaced general Darmignac at Burgos, as governor of the province of Old Castile, told us that he owed his first rank in the army to an irish man, general Morin, who chose him from amongst the volunteers to be a captain. Commandant Fitzhenry soon became on the best terms with general Thiebaud, and he and his battalion being continually employed in the most active manner in the different expeditions through the province, the general thereby had a better opportunity of appreciating the way it served, and it was well known that he made the most favourable reports to the minister of war on the subject. But the battalion had to leave him in the beginning of may. It was ordered to Leon to make part of the army commanded by general Kellerman and assembled there to march and attack the marquis de Romana in the Asturias. On the 18th of may 1809 commandant Fitzhenry's battalion marched at the head of general Charlot's brigade, from Leon, making the vanguard of the army to Oviedo, meeting great obstacles on the way, as every passage and defile was bravely defended by the spanish army. From Oviedo, Fitzhenry was ordered to Gijon on the coast, and from this town into the highest mountains of the Asturias, where his battalion suffered much from want of provisions, and cold and damp, though in june. A spanish division five times our number, was for several days on our flank, but did not venture to wait and meet us, though we were alone. However we at length perceived a french

brigade coming to join us, and then the spanish army vanished, and dispersed themselves as was their custom at such a crisis. The marquis of Romana escaped, and the expedition terminated. Fitzhenry got orders to return with his battalion to Burgos, where he was complimented by general Thiebaud, who told him, that « in « consequence of the brilliant manner your battalion « serves, the emperor has decreed the first irish regi- « ment of the legion, composed of four war battalions « and a depot. » The first with the eagle at Flushing, still commanded by Petersely ; the second by Fitzhenry, then at Burgos ; the third at Landau on the Rhine, Mahony chef de bataillon ; the fourth nearly organized at the depot receiving daily irish recruits by hundreds from the depots of the english prisoners.

Colonel Daniel O'Meara, who was just returned from Burgos where he was commandant of the place, was sent to Landau, to take the command of the irish regiment, a most injudicious appointment, as will be seen. General Thiebaud could not help saying how unfit O'Meara was, for many reasons. First he was then advanced in years, and knew nothing about commanding, having only served on the staff ; besides, he was prone to the glass. His brother William O'Meara being married to the sister of the duchess of Feltre was no doubt a great means of getting on colonel Daniel with the generals under whose orders he might be, as the Duke of Feltre was then war minister and all powerful. But the appoint-

ment of John Mahony to be chief of the third battalion displeased us still more; he had emigrated and taken service in England; made the campaign in Egypt against the french army there; at the peace of Amiens in 1802 he sold his commission of captain in the british service and with this money came to Paris, where he had great success at the gaming tables, for many years, never caring about military affairs, till 1809, when his luck changed and he lost all. He then applied to general Clark the duke of Feltre, minister of war, to obtain a commission in the army; unfortunately he got it for our regiment. It was too bad indeed, to see such irish patriots as William Lawless, Thomas Markey, John Tennant, Paul Murray, P. Brangan, etc., serving as captains in the battalion commanded by this adventurer.

As the end of june 1809 when we reached Burgos, we found that the spanish bands of guerrillas, as they were called, had become most formidable, so that Fitzhenry and his battalion were constantly employed marching against there irregular spanish troops; which furnished him new occasions to shew his fitness to command, and general Thiebaud availing himself of it, frequently gave important commands to Fitzhenry, both of horse and foot, and as senior officer, he commanded the french troops that accompanied us in our different expeditions satisfactorily.

Returning to Burgos at the end of August 1809, after one of these expeditions in the mountains, we heard of

the siege of Flushing, where the first battalion of the irish regiment brilliantly commanded by William Lawless was greatly distinguished and spoken of. But unfortunately the greater part of the officers and men were either killed or wounded, and from the reports, it was feared that commandant Lawless was killed in the last sortie made against the English before the town was taken. We could learn no details about our friends and comrades but we were grieved to think how many had fallen, and that those who escaped death on the field of battle, were prisoners of war with their cruel enemy.

General Solignac being named governor of old Castile, instead of general Thiebaud, Fitzhenry's battalion was in consequence more actively employed ; for the new governor had received positive instructions to finish the guerrilla war in his province , and for this he was receiving reinforcements daily. — In January 1810, the third irish battalion arrived from France at Burgos , commanded by J. Mahony chef de bataillon.

Commandant Fitzhenry as senior took the command of the two battalions united, until the arrival of colonel Daniel O'Meara who was expected from France.

Marshal Masséna's army composed of three corps was ordered to Spain. The 2d corps was commanded by general Regnier ; the 6th corps by marschal Ney ; the 8th corps by general Junot duke of Abrantes. This splendid

corps had three divisions; the first commanded by lieutenant-general Clausel; the 2d by general Solignac, and the third by lieutenant general Lagrange. — The irish regiment commanded by Fitzhenry, was of the 2d division, and of general Thomier's brigade. The duke of Abrantes' head quarters were at Valladolid. General Solignac's division was assembled at Rio Seco.

The 1st of march 1810, the irish regiment left Burgos to join its division at Rio Seco, where colonel Daniel O'Meara arrived from France, and took the command of his regiment which had been commanded by commandant Fitzhenry in his absence.

The duke of Abrantes was ordered to march with his three divisions and make the siege of Astorga. The first, general Clausel's, was at the advance posts; the second, division, general Solignac's, opened the trenches on the first of april; and the irish regiment was day and night on service in those trenches till the town was taken on the 21st of april 1810. Fitzhenry and his battalion had the honours of this memorable siege, for, independent of captain Allen's brilliant conduct, which nothing could surpass, he mounting the breach under the tremendous fire of thousands of the enemy, and getting into the town and taking possession of a house under the rampart, which he defended all night, commandant Fitzhenry at the head of his battalion passed the night at the foot of the breach, ready to mount it at day light, and he had his captain adjutant major Perry wounded, and his

adjutant Granget had his right, arm shot off. Indeed the general in chief Junot, could easily appreciate the brilliant services he might expect from Fitzhenry's battalion, after what he himself had witnessed that day in the trenches before Astorga, and he was quite delighted when the captain of the grenadiers Hugh Ware, came to him and claimed his right to mount the breach the « first ». The duke mildly replied, « dont I command ? « the arrangement and service is ordered, but be quiet, « you must soon have your turn. » Ware walked away on getting this answer, when the duke exclaimed, « we « are not in the habit of receiving many reclamations of « that » kind, and what a daring fine looking officer he « is! » — General Solignac replied, « I know him well « and I have « apostiled » a demand to the minister for « his advancement; but he must wait until there is a « place vacant in his own regiment, as he cannot pass « into the french regiments with promotion. » General Thomier also spoke to the duke of Abrantes of Fitzhenry and his battalion, in the handsomest manner.

In may 1810 when the duke of Abrantes was marching with his army from Astorga to Toro and Salamanca, he assumed to himself the responsibility of taking the command of the irish regiment from colonel Daniel O'Meara and giving this command to commandant Fitzhenry, who he saw was capable of conducting the regiment, and he ordered colonel O'Meara to be placed on general Solignac's staff until the minister of war employed him otherwise.

The chief of the third battalion, commandant Mahony, being on the worst terms with his officers, they were assembled and in presence of the generals Solignac and Thomier, who heard their complaints and commandant Mahony's justification of himself, it was decided that he should be placed on the general in chief's staff, and the command of his battalion confided to captain Allen, whose brevet was hourly expected, as it would no doubt be the first promotion granted for the siege of Astorga, where Allen in presence of all the generals displayed that heroic bravery for which he received the applause of the whole army. Commandant Fitzhenry being appointed to the command of the regiment by the duke of Abrantes, who enjoyed such great influence with the emperor Napoleon hoped that ere long his brevet of colonel would be granted. General Thomier assured Fitzhenry that the duke was resolved to obtain it, even in spite of any obstacle thrown in the way by the duke of Feltre, who was not pleased that his two protégés O'Meara and Mahony were put aside. Under these circumstances Fitzhenry was the more anxious to prove how capable he was of commanding the regiment, which was successively employed at marshal Massena's head quarters at Salamanca, and in june and july 1810 at the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, where captain Ware, who commanded a battalion d'élite, received his brevet of chef de bataillon for the fourth battalion at Landau. — After the town of Ciudad Rodrigo was taken, commandant Fitzhenry and the two irish

battalions were united at « Ledesma, » the head quarters of the duke of Abrantes, and from thence marched to make part of the camp formed at Saint-Felix-le-Grand of the 8th corps; and from the camp of Saint-Felix-le-Grand, Fitzhenry and the irish regiment was ordered to the siege of Almeida and was employed in the trenches the night the town was blown up in august 1810, and then into Portugal and at the battle of Busaco in september; and the day after the battle, the irish regiment made the vanguard in pursuit of the english army, to Coimbra, and Torres Vedras and until this army was completely driven behind its line of defence before Lisbon; and then it remained at bivouack at the advanced posts before Torres Vedras with general Thomier's brigade, and this brave general never failed to report the distinguished way the irish regiment was serving in this painful campaign, where privations of every kind were so severely experienced. In january 1811 the regiment was ordered to Torres Novas, the head quarters of the general in chief marshal Massena, and strange to say, the poor soldiers were worse off here for provisions than at the advanced posts. Scarcely a distribution of Indian corn could be made; as to meat, that was out of the question.

In february 1811 the regiment were ordered to send a « cadre » (or frame) of a battalion, that is, the serjeants major, serjeants, corporals and drummers to their respective depots in France, and the private soldiers were

incorporated in the war battalions remaining in campaign.

Captain Parrott was named to conduct the « cadre » of the third battalion of the irish regiment to its depot at Landau, where it was to be completed forthwith.

The first of march 1811 the 8th corps attacked the english advanced posts and the duke of Abrantes was wounded on this occasion.

The 6th of march the divisions Clausel and Solignac, united at Torres Novas, and in the night commenced that memorable retreat, which lasted a month, for we only crossed the frontier into Spain on the 5th of april 1811, and during all this time, general Thomier never quit our battalion, sharing in our dangers and privations like a true soldier as he was, sleeping at our bivouack in preference to going any distance to seek a house. General Thomier had a real friendship for commandant Fitzhenry, and he frequently told marshal Ney, who commanded the rear guard of the french army during this retreat, how well the irish battalion commanded by Fitzhenry, was serving : indeed the marshal himself could soon judge, for he often gave us direct orders which he saw were promptly executed to his satisfaction. The battalion in spite of the misery from want of provisions, still mustered one of the strongest of the army; arriving in Spain the 5th of april 1811, when all our men who had been away « marauding, » or seeking something to eat, to

keep themselves alive, rejoined the battalion, we had nearly seven hundred men present under arms.

On the 6th of april in the night, commandant Fitzhenry got orders to make a reconnaissance before day, of the english advanced posts, with his battalion and a company of french cavalry. After he discovered the english line in the morning, he returned to the camp, when he received thanks from the general for the judicious way he commanded this expedition. — It was the last he ever performed.

On the 8th of april 1811 the regiments going to their cantonments in the province of Salamanca, Toro, etc., got rations of biscuit. Passing neer the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, Fitzhenry got rations for his battalion also, when we continued our march with the division on the road to Salamanca.

After marching two leagues, an orderly brought commandant Fitzhenry an order to return with his battalion to reinforce the garrison of Ciudad Rodrigo. He desired captain O'Mally, the senior officer, to return with the battalion whilst he himself rode on to the head of the column to speak with the general, from whom he got permission to pass some days at Salamanca : it was the last time he was seen by his battalion, for after remaining ten days at Salamanca, he was ordered to return to his battalion at Ciudad Rodrigo.

On the 19th of april 1811, he set out escorted by seventy men of the regiment, leaving the hospitals convalescent ; on the 22d of april 1811, commandant Fitzhenry and his little detachment marching from Ledesma to Ciudad Rodrigo, were attacked by the spanish chief don Julian, who was at the head of a thousand horse and foot. — Fitzhenry and his men were made prisoners of war.

The wife of one of the soldiers escaped in the night and brought this sad news to Ciudad Rodrigo, where the irish battalion was in garrison, and it is only justice to Fitzhenry's memory to say, that both officers and men were much grieved at his misfortune ; they always esteemed him as a chief who knew well how to command his battalion, and the regiment, when the battalions were united.

Marshal Marmont having heard that Fitzhenry was seen at the duke of Wellington's head quarters, wearing his sword and at perfect liberty, preparing to return to Ireland, ordered a council of war, or court martial, to have him tried by « coutumacy. » The summer passed however in making enquiries, and it was only on the 2d of december 1811, that the court martial assembled in a village four leagues from Placencia in Estremadura ; it was presided by the colonel of the 17th regiment léger, the six others officers were from the 22d and 65th regiments of the line. Four members of the seven voted he

was guilty of desertion, whilst three voted the contrary. He was in consequence acquitted, as it requires five out of the seven to condemn.

Whilst the court martial was deliberating on Fitzhenry's conduct in Spain, he was living with his family in the county of Wexford in Ireland; not happy. — He would not allow that he had been guilty of the foul, cowardly crime of desertion, or that the superior of the irish seminary at Salamanca, the reverend doctor Curtis, had used his great influence with the english general in chief lord Wellington to obtain him his pardon and liberty, or that the reverend doctor Curtis had previously arranged with the chief of spanish guerrillas, Don Julian, to have an ambuscade prepared for Fitzhenry and his detachment of 70 men. These matters could never be rightly ascertained, but one thing is certain, Fitzhenry never could raise his head in consequence, and his last moments were embittered by the recollection, whilst the reverend doctor Curtis was promoted catholic arch-bishop of Armagh and primate of all Ireland.

Much might be said of Fitzhenry's military career. In the first instance he was led to believe that the duke of Abrantes, as well as general Solignac, would use all his influence to have him named full colonel of the first irish regiment, as it was those generals who took upon themselves the responsibility of taking the command of the

regiment from colonel O'Meara and giving it to him as the senior field officer. Those generals on reflection, feared they might have incurred the displeasure of the duke of Feltre, minister of war, for having put aside in disgrace, his friends O'Meara and Mahony, without having consulted him in the matter. Fitzhenry saw plainly that all fell on him, and that he had made an eternal enemy of the minister of war, who promoted over his head a junior officer, commandant Lawless.

It was very unfortunate for him not to be any more in general Thomier's brigade, for this brave general always assured him that he might expect justice from the emperor Napoleon himself, by laying a proper statement of his case before him, and not on any account to think of resigning his commission; that his resignation would not be received or granted in campaign in the time of war. — Had Fitzhenry been sick, he might have got permission to go to recover his health in France; but the die was cast, and his military career tarnished. Apparently he cared little about the unmerited stain he brought on the reputation of the irish serving in France; but fortunately the subsequent brilliant conduct of those brave officers, whom he abandoned, soon did away with the bad impression made at the war office by his desertion.

I was very glad to meet at Paris Mr James Devereux of Carrigmanon, county of Wexford; he brought to my

mind the pleasing recollection of the time when I saw him at our house at Ballylusk (when I was only 12 years old), along with Father Frank Kavanagh. Mr Devereux led quite a retired life at Paris, and did not appear to take any active part in irish affairs. He visited however, both Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmett, and he certainly retained all the fine patriotic principles he professed, when he was chosen by his countrymen as a delegate to accompany Edward Byrne and others to present the catholic petition to king George the third in 1795.

It was some years after the restoration of the Bourbons that Mr Devereux had been able to prove his right to his uncle's property, confiscated in France during the war. The english commission sitting in London to decide on the claims of the British subjects in France, required so many formalities, that Mr Devereux began to despair of ever surmounting such difficulties, when a fortunate circumstance occurred : a deputation from Ireland arrived in London to wait on the prince regent; Mr Devereux joined the deputation and he was instantly recognized by the prince who gave him in particular, a most gracious reception, and spoke to him of former times, and of their first acquaintance, etc. To shew the weight this had with the commission, Mr Devereux very shortly after his interview with the regent, got an order to receive at Paris, a first instalment of eighty thousand francs; and here be it said to his honour, his first care was, to

begin to pay his debts, and as he had an unfortunate propensity to gambling, his creditors were many. — Mr Callaghan the banker told me, how Mr Devereux had the smallest sum he might have borrowed, registered, as well as the largest, and that he paid him two francs which he had lent him many years before. Mr Devereux was highly educated and exceedingly well mannered and agreeable. I had at one time rather an unpleasant business to settle with him for a friend, and as it will serve to shew his generous nature, I shall here mention the circumstance. — His friend and countryman captain William Barker marching with his regiment in 1806 on its way to Germany, wished to place his son Arthur, then nine years of age, at the irish college in Paris. — The worthy superior, the abbé Walsh, with every wish to oblige, could not receive any one without the minister's order, and whilst waiting for it, as captain Barker could not remain behind, Mrs Tone, the widow of the illustrious martyr to Ireland's freedom, took little Arthur Barker to her house, where he remained, a play mate to her children, for a month, until Mr Devereux obtained the ministerial order to have him placed in the irish college, where he soon distinguished himself by his good conduct and assiduity, and made great progress in his studies for the military profession for which his father destined him. The irish college not being at that time exclusively a school of divinity, the pupils were admitted to the lycée Napoleon (college Henri IV) as externes,

where they followed the classes of the first professors. Several of our officers finished their studies there. The three brothers Saint-Leger, Wall, Swanton, the youngest Glashan, O'Brien, etc., got their commissions as sous-lieutenants for the irish regiment, on leaving the college.

Young Barker hearing of wars and battles from his childhood (and particularly of that of Vinegar hill, where his father distinguished himself and lost his arm, fighting against the english) longed to follow the patriotic example of his father : but according to the military regulations, it was necessary he should be 18 years of age, before he could obtain his brevet of officer. In 1814 he was only 17 years of age, but so well grown that he might easily pass for a man of twenty, and in consequence colonel Lawless used all his influence with the duke of Feltre to get young Barker his commission for the irish regiment. But this severe and upright minister of war, would not deviate from the regulations laid down; yet the year after, he did not hesitate to give brevets of officers to two « mere » boys, sons of William Talbot of Castle Talbot, county of Wexford; when they arrived in Paris, they had to be sent to school, to learn something to fit them for the french army, for they were quite deficient, and their appearance and manner both physically and morally told against them; whilst Arthur Barker was highly educated and prepared for the military pro-

fession, having becoming manners, a tall handsome figure, and physical force to bear up against the rudest service. — The two Restorations and the Hundred Days intervening before young Barker attained the age required to obtain the brevet of officer, and then the loss of the battle of Waterloo, put an end to all his hopes, for whilst the french army was still fighting the enemy near Paris, some person had hoisted a white flag on the irish college and young Barker on seeing this emblem of disaffection, climbed up and took it down, brought it into the college yard, where he had it burnt in presence of all the scholars.

As soon as Louis XVIII was a second time placed on his throne, by the favour of the Almighty and the prince regent of England, Arthur Barker was expelled from the college. This was sad news for his poor mother, who had been a widow since 1811 and was living on a very small pension, with two children to provide for. Had her son got his brevet of officer, as he was entitled to, he would have advanced to rank and station in the french army.— But promotion in the army was very slow during peace. According to the new law, it required three years to elapse in each rank, and so it would have been eight years at least, before young Barker could have been a captain. and until he got that rank, he could not have been of much assistance to his mother; besides, he would then be serving without having the satisfaction of hoping, that

he would one day be employed to give freedom to his native land, or even in aiding other unfortunate countries to regain their nationality; for, with the exception of the expedition to Greece in 1828, the mission of the french army under the Bourbons, was, to crush liberty wherever it raised its head. Under these circumstances, Arthur Barker betook himself to literary pursuits.

Commandant Mac Carthy the friend of Barker's father and mother (and who served in the irish regiment) being about to publish his geographical dictionary, employed him in the laborious undertaking, of translating, compiling, correcting proof sheets, etc.; he was thus occupied, often a part of the night as well as the day, until this valuable work in two volumes, came out in 1834. Barker translated many works for Mac Carthy. Unfortunately the latter was not rich, so consequently Barker was not renumerated as he ought to have been.

Mr David Baillie Warden the staunch « irish patriot » of 1798, who escaped to the United-States of America, becoming a citizen of that great country, was appointed american consul at Paris. In this situation Mr Warden was for many years most useful and obliging, not only to the citizens of his adopted country, but also to those of his native « Green Erin, » the remembrance of which he cherished to his last moment.

Mr Warden published in english at Edinburgh in 1819 his american history, and the french edition soon

after at Paris; he intrusted to young Barker the care of getting this work translated and published; with his usual modesty and candour, he said one day to Mrs Byrne and me that the french edition was by far the best. This certainly was a high compliment to Mr Barker, of whom we were then speaking.

Mr Warden having experienced some serious losses of property in North America, regretted much that he could not remunerate young Barker sufficiently, or as he so well deserved, but the latter did not mind that; his friendship and attachment to Mr Warden was so great, that on no account would he think of leaving him, tho' it was often distressing to him that he could not bring the money due to him, to his mother, to whom he gave every shilling he earned. — Never was there a better son, nor a kinder brother than Arthur Barker.

One morning going to resume his occupations, Mr Warden handed him a letter to read, which he had just received from colonel Corbet, requesting him to retain, or stop from Mr Barker two hundred francs, which sum he said, he gave to Mr James Devereux for his account in 1807, to pay for Mr Barker's expences at the irish College, where he was then a student. — Mr Barker knowing well that he had a full bourse, and that the administration of the college paid all expences, and that his father at the time was receiving his full pay as a captain

of the first class, besides receiving remittances from time to time from the property he left at Enniscorthy in Ireland, was under no necessity of borrowing money, and finding that it was the first time his mother ever heard of the transaction, wrote instantly to colonel Corbet, and in no measured style. He told him, that none of his family ever owed him any thing, and that he at least owed some gratitude to his father and mother, who received him at their house, when almost every one else of the irish regiment, turned their backs on him, etc.; and as to Mr Devereux, he was under obligations to his family, owing his uncle a large sum of money, and that his mother at that very time, had an order from her brother on Mr Devereux for fifty pounds, which he could not pay her. Though all this was true, Mr Barker should not have put it in his letter to colonel Corbet. He might merely have said, Mr Devereux is an honourable man, and of course he will settle his money matters with you, of which we know nothing whatever, etc.

As to colonel Corbet, he committed a great mistake in writing to Mr Warden, as if he were the pay master of his regiment, and doing so without apprizing Mrs Barker evinced great weakness on his part, to say the least of it. But who is there who has not some time or other weak moments?

The year after when Mr Devereux had succeeded in recovering a part of his uncle's property which had been

confiscated in France during the war, colonel Corbet hastened to wait on him to get paid the two hundred francs which he gave him to be employed for young Barker, and which the latter refused to pay, as he would see by his letter. Mr Devereux not only paid him this sum, but he added the interest to it for ten or twelve years it had been due : asking to keep the letter in question, which colonel Corbet readily acceded to, not thinking of the consequence it might be to a widow lady one day or other, when her son's letter would be forthcoming, speaking slightingly of a gentleman whom all her family in Ireland held in the greatest esteem and respect.

Mr Devereux once in possession of Barker's letter, would not listen to Mrs Barker, who expected to get money from him on the order she had from her brother. She then employed mutual friends, the countess de Coux, and her sister Mrs O'Meara, to speak to Mr Devereux. He read to them Mr Barker's letter to colonel Corbet and declined giving them further explanation on the matter. On hearing this Mrs Barker got alarmed lest Mr Devereux might shew this letter to her brother, over whom he had great influence. She asked me to speak to him, and I cannot forget our interview. It was in winter and he seemed very busy writing beside a great fire. When I told him the object of my early visit, he handed me young Barker's letter to Corbet, to read and asked me, rather in a passion, what I thought of it My answer was,

Arthur Barker is a brave young man, he is now of age and responsible for his own acts. He could not avoid writing to Corbet; no doubt had he consulted me, I would have advised him to have made use of other terms. I then added, you know he was only a year old when his parents had to fly with him from Ireland, and cannot know, as I do, what is thought of you there; to which he replied, and pray what is it you know about me? — It is, I answered, that were I to morrow, to say any thing against you in the county of Wexford, I should not be listened to, particularly by Mrs Barker's family. After a pause he said, « you have read that letter, » (which indeed I still held in my hand), « put it into the fire, and « you may tell her the use I have made of it. » — He really seemed affected. We changed the conversation, and he told me he was obliged to return to London; « But, Byrne, » he said, « I shall see you before I go away. » We then separated.

I, seeing that he thought no more about the letter, hastened to tell Mrs Barker the result of my interview with him. This worthy woman was quite happy at it, knowing as she did, how useful he could be to her with her brother in the county of Wexford.

Three days after, I heard a great noise in my room, before day; it was Mr Devereux. He said « I am sorry to disturb you, but I must be at the coach office before six « o'clock; I am going to London, and from thence to

« Ireland; when you get up, be good enough to take « this five hundred francs note, which I leave on your « table, to Mrs Barker. — Good bye ». — I said, « I must « give you a receipt. » — « Oh! no » he answered « I « want no receipt from you, again good bye! » — It was the last time we ever met, though he came to Paris afterwards; but it was when I was in Greece or with my regiment at Grenoble. I feel it right to mention these circumstances of a man who would have been an ornament in the senate house of Ireland, had it been an independent country.

Mr Devereux had like other men his peculiarities; in the way of diet, though not an Epicure, he relished dainties, and substantial dishes too. — One day he invited me to breakfast with him, and there was on the table an immense « pie; » he told me that some days before, he bought a fine young hare, had it brought to a pastry cook's, where he remained and saw it properly cut up and covered with paste, then put into the oven. Nothing of its kind could be more savoury or better tasted.

Some years after the Bourbons restoration, Mr Robert Carthy of Birchgrove, one of the county of Wexford insurgent leaders of 1798, came to Paris; he invited Mr Devereux, young Barker, Mr Lewens and me to dine with him at a restaurateur.— He begged Mr Devereux to order the dinner. Though it was one of the best establishments of the kind in Paris, a particular part of the filet de

bœuf which was ordered, the master of the house told us was not in his larder, but if we would have patience, he would get it immediately from his butcher. This we agreed to and bid him tell his cook to follow Mr Devereux's instructions and that we were in no hurry, and were satisfied we should be well repaid for the delay.

On Mr Carthy remarking to me, that we could not have waited in this way in our campaigns, a warm discussion was brought on between him and Mr Devereux, on the atrocious murders committed in the county of Wexford during the insurrection of 1798. Mr Carthy saying, how difficult it was to prevent reprisals, when a son came in contact with the murderers of his father and brother and the violator of his sister. Mr Devereux maintained that instead of shooting those monsters he alluded to, the better way would be to kill them with kindness, give them plenty to eat and drink, and let them die with remorse. That for himself, were he a member of an insurrectional government, he would at once propose the prohibition of every kind of reprisals, which only tend to disgrace human nature. — Mr Carthy seeing that Mr Lewens, Barker and I were of Mr Devereux's opinion, good-naturedly joined us; so the abolition of reprisals was pronounced at our dinner party, which terminated gaily. Indeed it could not finish otherwise, James Edward Devereux being one of the guests.

I had commenced my fifth campaign in Spain in 1812,

when the battalion I belonged to was ordered to Holland. Arriving at Bayonne, I obtained permission to take the mail coach to Paris and I thereby gained fifteen days to spend amongst my friends there. — Nearly nine years had elapsed since I quit that city for Brest, where I had hoped to have embarked on an expedition to Ireland; but alas! the great wars on the continent put an end to that for a time : still it was expected that something might occur one day or other to hasten the hour when Ireland's independence should be secured and acknowledged by the european states.

I met John Devereux of Taghmon, county of Wexford, at Paris in the month of march 1812 He had to escape to the United-States of America, after the insurrection of 1798, and becoming a citizen of that great republick, was sent on a mission, to claim from the french government, american property in vessels which had been seized at Naples. Our common friend Thomas Markey, at that time aide-de-camp to the duke of Feltre, did all in his power to forward Mr Devereux's views. — The emperor Napoleon being away from Paris with his army, Mr Devereux could get no satisfactory answer to send to his government at Washington, and he had to wait with patience the diplomatic decisions. John Devereux though very young, took an active part with Bagnal Harvey, at the battle of New Ross, on the 5th of june 1798, when he distinguished himself by his courage and intrepidity;

and had Ireland succeeded in gaining her independence, he would have been one of the first to whom a civic crown would have been offered.

Although John Devereux had not the happiness to see his native country free as she ought to be, he had at least the glory as one of president Bolivar's generals, to aid and assist that great man in giving the last final blow for the independence of spanish America, and once that great country had her freedom assured, she was not ungrateful. On general Bolivar's recommendation she granted a tract of land to be made over for ever to general Devereux, as a mark of the country's esteem, and an acknowledgement of the great service he had rendered during the war, both physically and morally.

General Devereux recruiting, organizing, and parading publicly his battalions in Ireland, previous to their being embarked for spanish America, had a great moral effect. It gave the people every where an opportunity of sympathizing with him in the sacred cause of liberty and humanity in which he was engaged; and it proved that the recognition of the european powers might soon be expected for this glorious enterprize.

I met also at Paris in march 1812, Mr Harvey Morris, whose acquaintance I was truly happy to make. He was one of the brave irish patriots given up by the Senate of Hamburg on the 24th of november 1798, to the english

consul Crawford, who had him shipped off in chains, after he had been several months in prison, along with general Napper Tandy, Blackwell and William Corbet; they were conveyed to Kilmainham jail, Dublin. On being liberated from prison at the peace of Amiens in 1802, Mr Harvey Morris married the widow of the unfortunate John Esmond, who was executed in 1798, as one of the insurgent chiefs in the county of Kildare.

Mr Morris had at that time (1812) three sons by this excellent lady; Harvey, Geoffroy and Mathieu. In the summer of 1812 Harvey Morris was joined by his wife and children at Paris, he having received his commission of adjutant commandant, equivalent to the rank of a staff colonel, and the permission to remain with his family at Paris. He obtained for his step son Laurence Esmond the brevet of sub-lieutenant to the irish regiment. When France was invaded by the enemy in 1814, colonel Morris was ordered to Lyons, where he was employed on marshal Augereau's staff, and after Napoleon's abdication, he returned to Paris and lived there with his family, receiving the half pay of a staff colonel till his death, which took place at Saint-Germain-en-Laye in 1839.

It was only in 1815 that lord Trankfort, Lodge Morris, with other branches of the Morris family, obtained the Prince Regent's leave to call themselves Montmorency Morris.

Colonel Harvey de Montmorency Morris had no need of any appendage to his name, he was brave and honourable and much liked by his countrymen in France.

Having experienced much kind hospitality from my friends at Paris in march 1812, before starting for Bois-le-Duc in Holland, I had a few of them to dine with me, such as Harvey Morris, John Devereux, Thomas Markey, captain O'Meally and Luke Lawless. The latter was nephew to colonel Lawless and brother to « honest Jack Lawless, » as O'Connell used to call him, when in good humour. — Luke Lawless was then a lieutenant on the staff of the duke of Feltre, minister of war. He was handsome, and had a distinguished air, speaking and writing french quite like a french man, and well fitted to be a staff officer. The duke seemed greatly pleased with him, and soon after promoted him to the rank of captain. — At the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 the duke of Feltre not making part of the ministry then, captain Lawless was sent to the irish regiment, in which he was placed as one of the captains.

After the hundred days, in september 1815 the irish regiment was disbanded and all the officers who composed it, were put on half pay; a general measure which was applied also to the french army that had retired behind the Loire. The french officers were ordered to go to their respective homes and to reside there, with their

families, where they could be more easily watched by the police agents. The irish officers having no homes to go to in France, were told to choose towns in certain parts of France. — Captain Luke Lawless made choice of one, and a few days after he arrived there, he received an order from the minister of war, « the duke of Feltre, » to quit that town in twenty four hours, and France in fifteen days. His uncle general Lawless remonstrated with the minister, saying, that his nephew who had been two years on his excellency's staff, should be well known to him as a man of honour, and could not have merited such treatment, etc., etc. But all to no avail; captain Lawless's crime was, that he did not go to Ghent when he knew that the duke of Feltre was there, and that he despised those mean fellows who deserted and joined the enemies of France at Waterloo, and were not ashamed to boast of their cowardly treason; and not having the courage to meet Lawless in the field, when he told them the great contempt with which all honourable officers must regard their conduct, they wrote all kinds of falsehoods against him to the minister of war, as they did of several of his comrades. His case was one of the many instances of injustice and persecution occurring every day to the brave officers of the french army during that cruel period of Bourbon re ac ion.

Fortunately for captain Luke Lawless, he had been bred to the law, was a councillor in Ireland before he became a french officer, and he soon distinguished him-

self at the American Bar, where he was raised to the rank of judge at Saint-Louis.

I met at Mr Thomas Addis Emmett's house in 1803 a Cork gentleman, a Mr Beamish, and all the refugees from his county spoke of him in the highest terms, as a generous, good patriot.

I felt assured that the irish I saw at Paris then, were patriots, otherwise they would have been sent to Verdun as english subjects.

Some irish however, preferred the appellation of english subject to that of irish patriot, from interested motives. Amongst them, Mr John Masterson who had served in one of the irish brigades before the revolution; he had property in the West Indies by his wife. He obtained leave from the french government to reside with his family at Brussells instead of Verdun.

Mr Cramer, one of the best irishmen I ever knew, was detained at Verdun a prisoner, as a british subject : but when his enlightened and patriotic principles were made known to the french authorities at Verdun, he was allowed to travel through France as he pleased. He ultimately settled at Tours, where he married a french young lady, a mademoiselle Fereau.

Major Burke had been an officer in the irish brigade and emigrated and took service in England. Being in

France when the hostilities began in 1803, he was sent to Verdun, where he remained till the peace of 1814; he came after that to Paris, his promotion going on as if in active service, until he got the rank of major general in the english army.

These gentlemen all wished to see their native country prosperous, taking however different views of what might be thought necessary to make the people there happy, and the inferences which might be drawn from the contrast, of their opinions, are not a little curious. Mr Masterson, a strict roman catholic, having spent some time at Rome and in Italy, was of opinion that if the irish catholics had the free exercise of their religion, as he had seen it practiced in Italy, they ought to be satisfied. — His brother Edward, who was then a captain in the irish legion, took a similar view of the question of Ireland at that period.

Mr Burke was a catholic and one of his sisters was a nun at Brest : another was a partner with miss Ryan at the great ladies school in the rue du Harley, boulevard Saint-Antoine at Paris. Mr Burke's principles might be called those of a tory; however he thought that catholics ought to sit in the House of Lords, and obtain the highest rank in the british army. With these concessions, he thought the catholics should rest satisfied. Mr Burke was a highly honourable man, and as to his bravery, it was so well known to the english prisoners at Verdun, that whenever a duel was going to take place there, the seconds

would previously consult colonel Burke before going to the ground, to have his opinion how the matter might be settled. — When his sister died at miss Ryan's in 1821, he was ill of the gout, and he was very grateful to colonel Montmorency and me for attending her funeral and calling to let him know about the melancholy ceremony.

Mr Cramer was of a highly respectable protestant family in Ireland and possessed a good estate there. No one felt more indignant than he did at the unjust and cruel treatment the poor irish endured from their landlords and task masters. He despaired of ever seeing their situation bettered under the english yoke. As to expect redress from a parliament sitting at Dublin, he thought that a farce; witness the continual struggles and efforts of the greatest statesmen from 1782 to 1800, to maintain the little liberty gained, by the necessity of contenting the people in the event of a foreign invasion. That danger over, all hopes of emancipation vanished like smoke; therefore, Mr Cramer wished for a complete separation, and independence of british rule; and he entertained the most sanguine hopes that those blessings would be, one day or other, easily acquired, as he considered the getting rid of the english garrison in Ireland quite a secondary matter, because the Irish would have it in their power to rise « en masse » and disarm any foreign troops in the country. — As to the natives continuing to kill one another on account of religion, he trusted that mania would cease, if once a good government were established; and

it was for its consolidation in the first instance that he feared difficulties might occur, from the want of union between the chiefs and leaders of the people. « A propos » of his anxiety on this subject, he often spoke to me of the bad feeling and misunderstanding which existed between Arthur O'Connor and Thomas Addis Emmett. Indeed, in every thing regarding Ireland, Mr Cramer's feelings were pure and disinterested and his views enlarged and enlightened. He thought it would become one of the happiest countries on the face of the globe, once independent, with a good government, and her plains well cultivated; considering her fine pasture lands, hills covered with verdure to their tops, so fit for sheep walks; and the many great rivers susceptible of being utilized in various ways. Her woollen manufactories, of which she had been so foully deprived, would be again restored; her linen and tabinets, both branches of trade superior in quality to what was to be found in other countries, etc. The waste lands once reclaimed, Ireland could furnish food and employment for more than twenty millions of people. — Nothing could retard the accomplishment of those blessings but strife amongst the chiefs, for power, in the commencement. To avoid that, Mr Cramer thought a dictator should be named : he was well aware however that it might not be an easy matter to find a person with the virtues and the abilities necessary for so important a situator, and to whom such a trust could be confided with safety to the people's welfare; for amongst the many dis-

tinguished irish patriots whom he knew, both at home and abroad, he seldom, or never met one of them that did not want some of the requisites for such an important part.

Mr Cramer being a resident at Tours, was well acquainted with the irish officers retired there after the Hundred days of 1815. — He was very intimate with general Lawless, and colonels Ware and Allen. Knowing they were friends and comrades of mine, he would often speak to me freely of their bravery and worth. — Lawless's talents, he would say, were of the highest order, and his general instruction equal to that of the first men and tried patriots which Ireland had produced. — Still John Allen was the man he thought, that had the head, the understanding and firmness proper to make him fit for exercising a temporary dictatorship : he knew Allen would reflect well before he gave his orders, but once given, they should be punctually executed.

Mr Cramer was well educated and well read; his political opinions and general Lawless's were alike, and they agreed also with regard to Allen's capacity and want of selfishness, and his fitness to fill a high situation without danger to the state.

They were both well acquainted with the celebrated greek scholar and french patriotic writer and martyr, Paul Louis Courrier, who lived near general Lawless's country house in the neighbourhood of Tours.

In 1825 Mr Cramer came to reside at Paris, rue Saint-Dominique-Saint-Germain, with his wife and two daughters and a son, a little boy of four of five years of age and his only son. He had the sorrow to lose this poor child soon after their arrival in Paris, and being much cast down with this event, his wife tried to rouse and cheer him by having society at the house, often inviting his friends to dinner. At one of these parties, he said to me before dinner, « Byrne, you will meet one of my fellow prisoners of Verdun at dinner; he is highly honourable, but a tory; of course you will not agree with him on politics. » When I learned that it was colonel Burke he alluded to, I told him we were friends, and had been long acquainted; and that we had often spoke of him and the different doings at Verdun during the war, and that one day he said to me, « I believe that if Cramer had remain-« ed at Verdun, he would have converted me to his way « of thinking, at least about irish affairs. » Mr Cramer laughed and said colonel Burke understood a joke. As he was speaking, colonel Burke arrived, and Mrs Cramer telling him how we two had been speaking of him, — he said, « then you will tell me at dinner, all the good things « they said, » to which she readily consented, and a cheerful conversation was kept up.

Mr Cramer unhappily became very ill at Paris, being attacked with spitting of blood, which caused much uneasiness to his family and friends. — He however was

soon cured of this dangerous malady, by the good advice of a very able, young, irish physician, Daniel Halliday. — While Mr Cramer remained at Paris, under the skilful care and watchfulness of his friend doctor Halliday, he kept well; but going to travel, another attack of his complaint, at Florence, suddenly carried him off in 1827.

His widow feared she might have great difficulty about her children's property in Ireland, but her anxiety was soon relieved, by his brother's honourable and affectionate conduct. He immediately had her and the children put in possession of all Mr Cramer's property, according to his last will.

In the solitary walks I was accustomed to take in 1803, in the garden of the Luxembourg, I frequently met the last commander of Walsh's brigade « O'Neill; » he had the rank of general of brigade and was « en retraite; » he was a small man, rather handsome, with fine features, and nearly eighty years old. Having been born and brought up in Ireland he spoke english. He had the reputation of being a just chief, though a severe disciplinarian, and a strict observer of military rules and honours. Though proud and haughty, as one of the descendants of the great O'Neill of the North, still he was much liked by his officers. Captain Barker, who served in Walsh's regiment, told me, they used to call their colonel « the monarch, » in their chat amongst themselves. His son was then (1803)

a captain in Walsh's regiment which took the number 47 in the french army. I met this young officer in 1804 at captain Barker's, when we were in garrison at Quimper; and there commenced my intimacy and friendship with colonel O'Neil, and which only ceased with his death at the end of july 1844. He was one of my best friends and comrades.

When colonel O'Neil was employed in the war office as chef de bureau, he was ever ready to oblige his father's countrymen; and it was to his influence alone that I owed the honour of being appointed on the expedition to Greece in 1828, on the staff of general Maison, who was commander in chief of the french army sent there to aid the unfortunate Greeks to shake off the cruel turkish yoke. I must say, that the heartfelt satisfaction I experienced on this occasion could only have been surpassed or equalled on being similarly employed in obtaining the freedom and independence of my own native land « Ireland. » — Though in the habit of meeting general O'Neill, I did not wait on him; it was very remiss of me indeed; also not having visited several other officers then in great favour with the minister of war Berthier; such as, the general of division Clark; the general of brigade Harty, adjutant general Dalton, etc., etc. It was the latter who accompanied me to the grand judge Regnier's Hotel in the place Vendôme the first day I arrived at Paris, when I met Thomas Addis Emmett and doctor Mac Neven. The second time I met Mr Dalton was

in Spain in 1808. Though he made the campaign of Egypt and was in great favour, he had to command a regiment before he could get promotion, according to Napoleon's new decree on the staff officers who got their advancement in the office of the war department without having commanded troops. — Colonel Dalton was at the head of the 59th regiment of the line coming from France to Spain, and I was a captain, commanding an escort conducting prisoners of war from Pampeluna to Bayonne.

Colonel Dalton was soon promoted to the rank of general of brigade, but he was only named lieutenant general in april 1821. He was born in France and did not speak english; he was exceedingly well mannered and about 25 years of age when I first saw him. He being on the minister's staff, could have been serviceable to me, had I waited on him. I did not like to intrude, or to pass for an intriguer; all I wanted was, to be certain, that I should be comprised in the first expedition sent to Ireland. I little imagined that I was doomed to witness the miseries of my unfortunate coun'ry augmenting daily, under the cruel english yoke.

After the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815 general count Dalton was named one of the inspectors general of the army, and member of the committee charged with the revision of the ordinance of the 1st of august 1791 on the exercise and manœuvres of the infantry. This revision

was only completed after the revolution of july 1830, and the new ordinance was published the 4th of march 1831 by the minister of war marshal Soult, which was found to be a great improvement on the old one, on account of its clearness, simplicity and precision in the manœuvres and the evolutions of an army in line, and it did great honour to general Dalton and his collegues of the committee.

When the reglement or ordinance on the manœuvres of the infantry came out in 1791, it was considered a vast progress on tactics also : and another irishman had the honour to be the editor of that work, which sufficed for the great armies of the republic and the empire. This was, general count O'Connell, and he received the thanks of the government for his editorship of the ordinance of 1791.

In 1832 lieutenant general count Dalton had the command of one of the divisions of the french army in Africa, that of « Algerie, » and in 1834 he was named a member of the committee or commission of the infantry and cavalry department at the war office; it may be seen by those different situations entrusted to general Dalton that he was in favour with Louis-Philip's government as well as with that of the elder branch of the Bourbons. He began his military career under the auspices of his worthy uncle colonel Shea, the faithful companion of general Hoche, on the unfortunate expedition to Ireland in de-

cember 1796. In the reign of Napoleon, colonel Shea was one of the senators and prefet of Strasbourg, department of the « Bas-Rhin. » At the Restoration he was named a peer of France by Louis XVIII. — When he had the misfortune to lose his only son, his nephew, general Dalton, not having children, and wishing to keep up the name of Shea, he adopted the son of the widow Dalton, wife to his other nephew, who had been a prefet under Napoleon. This young boy was called Dalton Shea, and his grand uncle bequeathed him with the title of count, the french peerage.

In 1830 young Dalton Shea, whilst waiting the age required to sit in the Chamber of peers at Paris, was making a tour in the east, and passing through Greece was taken ill. He had to quit his fellow travellers and remain at Navarino in Morée, to recover from his indisposition. He was convalescent and walking about, when the news of the revolution of july arrived. I can never forget that evening : we were a great number of officers taking refreshments in a large coffee house at Navarino, when a young man, about eighteen years of age came in, with an immense tri-coloured cockade in his hat. The captain adjutant of the place, Detroismonts, who was at the same table I was, seeing the three coloured cockade, said, « I must go for the guard and have that fellow arrested. » — « Why would you think of it? » I replied. « Are we not all anxiously waiting for the order to take it and which must come by the next mail? » — « I never will

wear it, » — « I never wore it » said Detroismont. Captain Revel of the « génie, » at the same moment in a pleasant tone said : « Mr Dalton Shea, I see that you anticipate on the pleasure we shall have to morrow. » Tot his Dalton Shea replied, pointing to the tricoloured cockade in his hat, « Gentlemen, this is the cockade that every true frenchman in France is wearing to day : you military men are not your own masters, you must wait orders. » On which there seemed general approbation through the coffee house. I could then see he was a great favourite with captain Revel, doctor de Foncelle and other officers of the garrison at Navarino. It was the only time I ever saw Mr Dalton Shea ; he sailed immediately to rejoin his travelling companions, at Smyrna or Constantiple before I could make his acquaintance. When he became of age, and sat in the Chamber of peers in the reign of Louis-Philip, he acted an honourable and independent part, and he did not avail himself, as he might have done, of the great influence his great uncle Shea always enjoyed with the Orleans family. — I mention these circumstances as Mr Dalton Shea was the nephew of lieutenant-general count Dalton, the first french officer I met when I arrived at Paris in 1803.

Adjutant general Mac Sheehy was sent from Ireland to be educated under the care of his uncle doctor Mac Sheehy ; he, as well as a vast number of the irish students, offered his services to the french government, the

moment war began with England in 1793.— Mac Sheehy being young and active soon got the brevet of captain, and in 1798 he was employed in this rank on general Berthier's staff, in general Buonaparte's army to Egypt: he spoke both french and English well and wrote a fine legible hand, a good recommendation for a staff officer.

At the formation of the irish legion in 1803 the minister of war, general Berthier, appointed adjutant general Mac Sheehy, to organize it at Morlaix, where the irish officers, non commissioned officers, soldiers, etc., were assembling for the purpose. He began judiciously, to repair as much as he could, the great mistakes made at the war office and by the minister, in naming to inferior ranks, as lieutenants and sub-lieutenants, men who had the greatest claims on Ireland as patriots, such as William Barker, Hugh Ware, Dowdal and Allen, Val Derry, O'Mally, etc., whilst others were appointed captains, who scarcely had any claim to recommend them.

Mac Sheehy sent a list of the officers whom he thought were entitled to a higher rank, to the minister of war, and very soon after he received their commissions of captains, which he was ordered to deliver to those brave patriots Barker, Ware, etc.; lieutenant Thomas Markey not being comprised on the list of captains, wrote to general Augereau on the subject, with whom he was acquainted and he got his brevet of captain immediately. The omission of his name in the first list might be chance,

and Mac Sheehy wished it to be thought so, as he could have no interest, he said, in preventing Markey's advancement : in short, up to this period he had shewn the greatest desire to obtain for the well deserving irish patriots the rank they should hold in the legion destined to be completed in Ireland. The best french instructors were sent, by the orders of the First Consul, to the legion, to teach the officers the artillery exercise as well as the infantry manœuvres.

Every thing seemed going on well and the minister of war perfectly satisfied with the degree of instruction and progress reported to him of the legion, when, whether from envy and jealousy at seeing Arthur O'Connor raised to the rank of general of division, then the highest in the french army, without having passed through any of the inferior ranks, — or for other motives, we could not learn, but all at once adjutant general Mac Sheehy became any thing but an impartial chief.

He knew the captains Corbet were on the most intimate terms with general O'Connor, and that alone seemed to suffice for him to become their enemy, though before leaving Paris they were his bosom friends, and at Morlaix he named on arriving captain Thomas Corbet captain of the first class of the legion, and his brother William captain d'habillement, or of the cloathing, a very lucrative situation; especially in a regiment where every thing was to be furnished new, as in the irish legion.

The unfortunate duel between captain Sweeny and cap'ain Thomas Corbet had the very worst effect for the officers, being considered a political one on the score of swearing allegiance to Napoleon, and Mac Sheehy was said to have been the cause of it, by telling Sweeny something that Corbet mentioned of him, in presence of the Mayor and french authorities at Carhaix in may 1804. — In short adjutant general Mac Sheehy shewed he was quite unfit to organize an irish regiment, and the command was taken from him at Lesneven, august 1804. He soon got employed on the staff of the grand army and was on the point of obtaining promotion, when he was killed at the battle of Eylau the 7th of february 1807.

General Harty was born in Ireland, he came to France when very young, and got a commission in the irish brigade. — In 1792 Berwick's regiment was in garrison in the fortress of Landau near the Rhine, lieutenant-colonel O'Mahony had the command of it, as senior officer. He one day marched the regiment from the town in the direction of the Rhine, and after marching about a league, halted the regiment. Captain Harty who commanded the grenadiers company, seeing the quarter master, and every thing belonging to the depot, following the regiment, perceived at once that it was not for manœuvring or exercise, asked the colonel where he intended marching? Lieutenant-colonel O'Mahony answered briefly, to cross the Rhine and join our princes on the other side. To

this captain Harty replied, that might be very well for those who wished to do so, but for his own part, he would not desert the country he had adopted. He immediately harangued the regiment in an impressive, military tone, and returned with it to Landau, leaving lieutenant-colonel O'Mahony and a few officers who followed him to go away and cross the Rhine to the enemy's camp.

Captain Harty received the grateful thanks of the governor of the garrison, and of the inhabitants of Landau, when he returned there triumphantly at the head of Berwick's regiment, which he had just saved from the foul crime of deserting to the enemy with arms and baggage; and for his brave and honourable conduct on this occasion, as well as for his subsequent services, he early obtained the rank of general of brigade from the government, and the emperor Napoleon named him baron de Pierre Bourg.

Whilst the irish legion remained in the department of Finistère and the environs of Brest, in hope of being sent one day to Ireland, general Harty had generally a command where it was stationed.

In 1804 he had a part of the legion under his orders at Landerneau and he had the officers frequently to dine with him, and when the legion was afterwards in garrison at Quimper, he came by order of the minister to inspect it; and in 1807 at Antwerp our regiment made part of his brigade, and the same year he commanded our camp at West Caple in the Island of Walcheren, where

he, as well as almost all the men and officers of his brigade were affected with the severe fever of that Island; so much so, that the camp had to be raised and the sick sent to the hospitals of Middlebourg, Flushing, etc.

General Harty commanded the military district at Munster in Westphalia in 1813; it was in this town that I saw for the last time this truly brave, honest irishman. We were seven officers and about sixty men, of our regiment, on our way back to our depot in Holland, after the terrible disasters we escaped from in Silesia, and on the Bober, at Lowenberg where our division under general Puthod fought till it was nearly exterminated. General Harty had us all to dine with him, and he did every thing he could to console us in our misfortunes. He wished colonel Lawless, who had lost his leg at the Bober, to remain a day or two to recover from his fatigues, but the Cossacks appearing in force near the town in the morning, general Harty at the head of his brigade had to march and attack them, so poor Lawless had to be off, and thus could not avail himself of general Harty's kind offer of hospitality.

General Harty's manner was frank and agreeable; he had no desire to shew off as a great hero, because he thought he had only done his duty as any honourable man would have done, circumstanced as he was in Berwick's regiment at Landau in 1792. — General Clark was his relation and when he became duke of Feltre and war minister to Napoleon, he took great interest in ge-

neral Harty's family; he got his daughter miss Harty married to lieutenant-general de Brice, and after the Restoration, his son became a distinguished officer in the royal guards and later, a staff officer. This young man had the misfortune to kill in a duel the son of colonel Saint-Aulaire, on account of a pamphlet that the latter published against the duke of Feltre.

General Clark was born at Landrecy in France; his father was a major in one of the irish brigades. Young Clark got rapid promotion in the french army after the revolution, and he filled important situations in Italy, whilst Buonaparte was general in chief there, and the letter of the latter to him on the occasion of his nephew's death, young Elliott, at the battle of Arcole, was much spoken of when I came to Paris in 1803, by the irish patriots whom I met there. It was as follows :

« Your nephew has been killed on the field of battle of Arcole. That young man had familiarised himself with arms. Often did he march at the head of the columns; he would have been one day a distinguished officer. He has died with glory, facing the enemy, without a moment's suffering. What reasonable man would not envy such a death? Who is there amongst us who has not regretted a hundred times that he has not thus been withdrawn from calumny and envy, and from the various hateful passions which seem almost exclusively to direct the conduct of men? »

General Clark was not in favour with the government of the Directory during the absence of Buonaparte in Egypt, but after the 18 brumaire, his services were again appreciated as they merited, by the First Consul, and his fame afterwards as duke of Feltre and Napoleon's minister of war from 1809 to his abdication at Fontainebleau on the 8th of april 1814 is too well known to the historian, for me to pretend to offer my opinion on his career; yet I cannot help mentioning what regards myself and some of my comrades respecting his unjust and arbitrary decisions towards us, when he became minister of war to Louis XVIII after the Hundred Days in 1815. The irish regiment was disbanded at the same time that the french army was disbanded, and the officers sent to their homes on half pay. The irish officers having no homes in France had to choose towns, where they expected to enjoy their half pay and protection.

Commandant Allen was on his way to the place he had chosen, when the duke of Feltre had him arrested at Paris and ordered to quit the french territory forthwith. Thus without trial or the means of defence, was to be banished from his adopted country, an officer whose brilliant conduct at Astorga in 1810 was the admiration of the french army. Fortunately for Allen, general Arthur O'Connor, as soon as he heard of his arrest, waited on the minister of war, the duke of Feltre, and got him to revoke his cruel and most unjust order, and Allen was allowed to go and reside at Tours.

Three of the distinguished captains of the irish regiment, distinguished both for bravery and high education, were by order of Clark the duke of Feltre, obliged to quit France, without ever being able to know for what reason : these were, captains Jackson and Luke Lawless, both of whom went to America, and Town who went to Italy.

The irish regiment being disbanded in september 1815, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, I was ordered, as a member of the council of administration, to remain there with colonel Ware, the quarter master and another member, to settle and give up the accounts of the regiment. All being terminated in may 1816, colonel Ware and I retired to Tours, where we met commandant Allen, and Hayne; with these friends and comrades, I was spending my time as well as could be expected under such circumstances, and I hoped I had escaped the re-action and persecution then prevailing against the officers of the french army ; when, on the 2d of january 1817, the prefet of Tours sent for me to give me an order he had received, he said, the day before from the minister of police. Being new year's day, he did not like then to communicate disagreeable intelligence to me. The order was, that I should quit Tours in twenty four hours and France in fifteen days. On being handed this « Ukase, » I went instantly to general d'Autichamp, who commanded the military division at Tours. He seemed quite surprised and displeased that orders regarding military men were not

forwarded to him to be delivered, and he asked me where I intended to go to. I told him to Nantes, if he would have the goodness to order the arrears and money due to me to be paid. That I should sail for New-York by the first vessel going from Nantes; he replied, that having no instructions whatever from the minister of war on the matter, he could not interfere, but he thought that I should pass by Paris, and there claim the money due to me. « You have friends no doubt who can assist you at Paris. » I said I had many, but that they were not infavour, and consequently could not be of any use to me. I mentioned to him having a letter of introduction to the prince de Broglie, from his brother the prince and abbé de Broglie, which my friend in Dublin, Andrew O'Reilly had procured for me : « Then » said general d'Autichamp, « take your feuille de route for Calais, and the coach to Paris; you will thereby gain a few days, to make your reclaimation about your money matters, and have time to see my cousin the prince de Broglie, who is vice-president of the Chamber of deputies. » I followed his advice, took my place in the diligence for Paris and bid farewell to my dear friends at Tours. — All the way to Paris, I had to shew my feuille de route or passport, to the gendarmes, every time the coach stopped to change horses. I however arrived safely the second night at Paris, and lodged at the hotel de Calais, rue Montmartre and next day went to call on my friend Mr Aubriet, who was chef des huissiers at the Chamber of deputies. I told him I

wanted to see the prince de Broglie. « There he is » he answered, returning after him, he presented me to him. The prince was going, on hearing the bell ring. He asked me why I did not come sooner to Paris? That his brother had written to him to use his influence to get me employed, and he hoped to have me placed in the royal guards, etc. I said, « Prince it is on a disagreeable matter I have to speak to you at present, » and I shewed him the order I had got to quit Tours and France. He very naturally seemed quite surprised, and asked me what I could have done to merit such treatment. I answered that I was conscious of never having done but my duty as an officer and as a man of honour : and that all I required was, to be tried by a court martial. The prince then told me that he was to dine that day with the minister De Caze, and for me to call on him at seven o'clock next morning, rue Saint-Dominique, nº 19. — I did so and got him sitting up in bed busy writing. He made me sit down beside him, and he then told me that the minister De Caze knew nothing particular about my affair, that the duke of Feltre was frequently sending despatches through the officers of the police to the civil authorities in the departments and that it was in that way the order respecting me was forwarded to the prefet at Tours. He added, « The minister has promised me that you should have a permission to stop at Paris, to justify yourself; so you must see the duke of Feltre and know from him what are the charges brought against you, and come and let me

hear immediately the result of your interview with him. » Nothing could be kinder than the prince's reception; and the interest he took in the matter, gave me great hopes of success and I returned cheerful to my lodgings at night, thinking that I had begun well, when I was handed a letter from the chief of the police, ordering me to appear there at ten next morning. This chief said to me, « I have « ordered you here, to know if you are ready to quit « Paris and continue your route to Calais, and when you « are to set off etc. » I answered, I should return and let him know after I saw the prince de Broglie, who had had the goodness to tell me that he would get me a permission to stop some time in Paris. « Oh then » he replied « you will certainly obtain it, for he is on the most intimate terms with our minister. » — This chief de bureau's name was Lebas, and he told me he knew the irish regiment at Landau. Finding him so amiable in his manner I asked him if I could not learn something of the charges made against me. « Certainly, » he answered, « you must see all we have here. » On which he rang a bell and told a man to go and bring him the « dossier » of a Mr Byrne, which had been sent there by the minister of war, « Feltre. » According to this curious document, I was a « buonapartiste enragé, » that would never change, a fourbe, etc., etc. I remarked to him, « this appears a « contradiction; a « fourbe » is a man ever ready to « change when it is for his advantage to do so. » He politely replied « We know the value of such denunciations. »

— I thanked him for his attention, and I then went to call on the prince de Broglie, who told me, that I need not be uneasy, as to the police for some time, but that I should without delay see the minister of war, and endeavour to make him listen to my reclamation. I followed his advice and attended at the duke de Feltre's hotel, the day he gave his audience to the officers. When my name was called and the door opened, instead of letting me go in, the minister met me at the door, took my paper and threw it on the table and scarcely allowed me time to open my lips, when he told the huissier (or usher) to call another officer. I then could plainly see that I had no chance of obtaining justice from the duke of Feltre; so I resolved to go to Havre and from thence sail to New-York. I wrote to general Lawless who was living with his family at Moulins, to let him know my determination, and praying him to write to Mr Emmett by me; lest he might be told by the Bourbons « emissaries » at New-York, that the emigrant officers had to leave France for other things besides their politics. The following is the letter which general Lawless wrote to Thomas Addis Emmett on the occasion.

« My dear friend,

« Another act of summary justice gives me an opportunity of sending you this, as much with a view of expressing my sincere thanks for the services you have

rendered my nephew, as to introduce to you anew, an old acquaintance who thinks it necessary I should say something to you of him. For many years I have known Mr Byrne. I have always found him to justify the good opinion of your ever to be regretted brother; you will find his morals as pure as his bravery is unquestionable, and I have seen both put to severe trials. — Do not be alarmed, my dear friend, at the quick arrival of another recommandation, or imagine that I have set up a register office for emigrants to your country. I could not refuse a word in favour of the bearer, and do not mean to be troublesome in future.

« I refer you to Byrne for any information you may desire to know. He allows me but a moment to write this. — My wife joins me in kind wishes to Mrs Emmett and for your joint prosperity.

« Yours ever,

« W. Lawless.

« Moulins, département de l'Allier, 10th january 1817. »

The worthy prince de Broglie was not only very sorry, but much surprised at the bad reception I had received from my « countryman, » as he was pleased to call, general Clark the duke de Feltre, war minister to the king Louis XVIII, etc., etc. He thought that he was rather partial to the irish. I told him the contrary was the case;

that he was any thing but impartial to some of them. That whilst he was banishing distinguished irish officers who counted ten and twelve years service and campaigns in the french army, without trial or judgment, he was placing other irishmen in the gardes du corps (king's body guards) who had no claim on France, and giving commissions of sous-lieutenants to young irish lads under eighteen years of age; and in 1814 he would not give brevets to the students of the irish college until they had completely attained the eighteen years required.

The prince de Broglie asked me if the minister received my demand. I told him he took the paper and threw it on the table without reading it « His secretary » he replied « will read it to him; so you may expect an ans- « wer, but not probably for three weeks or a month on « account of the great mass of such documents he will « have to reply to; but keep your mind easy and have pa- « tience Should the minister of police be written to, about « your stopping in Paris, I shall let you know and tell « you what you will have to do in the event of the duke « of Feltre persisting in having you sent away. » — It was generally thought that a change of ministry would soon take place; M. de Caze becoming every day more in favour with the king, and indeed more popular than his colleague the duke of Feltre, and that the latter would only remain to finish the dirty work he had so well be-

gun. However no change taking place, and not having got any answer to my demand, from the war office or the minister, I resolved to see his excellency once more, and this time I was advised to write in english to him; that he did not like the idea of such documents being published in the American or liberal english newspapers. So on the 12th of april 1817, I presented to him the following letter, remarking that it was in english, as I knew his lordship understood that language well: he said I might speak if I wished in english.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARSHAL DUKE OF FELTRE, MINISTER OF WAR.

« My lord,

« My reliance on the justice of your excellency is as strong as the consciousness of my own innocence; both conspire to convince me, that should any doubts still remain, your excellency will take no unfavourable decision without affording me the possibility of justification. — In such a supposition, a trial by court martial is all I require, and this, my lord, I feel assured you never will deny me. If I am proved guilty, let me be punished and dishonoured; if innocent, let me be re-instated in what is now called in question, my honour and my character; — to me, without these, life is not supportable; to maintain them unsullied has been my study during nineteen years

incessant campaigns, and I feel convinced your excellency cannot but applaud my determination to do so to the end.

« I shall not trouble your excellency with the description of my situation; you know that my devotion to the cause of France has cut me off from the resources I should find in my own country. Deign then to judge what my position must be, deprived as I now am, these four months, of my only support, the half of my former appointments.

« To this state have I been reduced on a sudden without any previous warning whatever for faults alledged to have taken place two years ago, but of which I had never heard until sentence of immediate banishment had been pronounced.

« I have the honour to be, etc.,

« M. Byrne.

« Paris, the 12th april 1817. »

I was glad to see that he read my letter attentively and put it on the chimney piece, in place of throwing it on the table with the other papers. I said, « My lord, I might « have added that I was named captain in 1808, now

« nine years, and never once was under an arrest; a proof « that I obeyed my chiefs and executed their orders, and « I was on the most friendly terms with them, throughout « our campaigns and even with colonel Mahony, though « probably he is the person who has denounced me to « your excellency, as « dangerous. » He replied « no » that it came from the authorities where I had been in garrison. I answered, the military authorities, the only ones I had to do with, the marquis de Brias, governor at Montreuil-sur-Mer, and lieutenant-general count d'Autichamp at Tours, were both ready to attest the honourable way I conducted myself whilst under their command. He said, he would see about « my affair; » and he then began to talk to me about the Byrne families in Ireland, and of many others, as he was well versed in the history of that unfortunate country. His reception and conversation being so very amiable, I trusted I should hear in a day or two that the unjust order for my banishment was revoked; but no, I was still left in suspence for more than a month, as it was only on the 29th of may 1817 that I received the following answer from the duke of Feltre, though it was dated the 7th of may. But being sent to the military governor of Paris, lieutenant-general count d'Espinois with whom I had nothing to do, instead of being forwarded to the minister of police, to apprize him that I was re-instated on the army list, and no more under his jurisdiction.

MINISTÈRE DE LA GUERRE.

BUREAU DE L'INFANTERIE.

Décision du 16 avril 1817.

« Le ministre sécrétaire d'Etat au département de la guerre prévient M. Byrne (Miles), capitaine à l'ancien 3e régiment étranger, qu'étant compris dans la catégorie des officiers étrangers susceptibles d'être maintenus au service du roi, il est admis au traitement accordé par les ordonnances de Sa Majesté aux officiers de son grade en non activité.

« Il accusera réception au ministre de la présente et fera connaître le lieu de sa résidence.

« Paris, le 7 mai 1817.

« Le maréchal duc de FELTRE.

« A M. Byrne, capitaine d'infanterie à l'ex-3e régiment étranger. »

Translation of the duke of Feltre's answer to Mr Byrne's letter of the 12th april 1817.

WAR OFFICE.

INFANTRY DEPARTMENT.

Decision of the 16th april 1817.

« The minister secretary of state for the war department

informs Mr Byrne (Miles), captain in the old 3d foreign regiment, that being comprised in the rank of foreign officers susceptible of being maintained in the service of the king, he is granted the pay ordered by his Majesty to officers of his rank in non activity.

« He will acknowledge the receipt of this present to the minister and give in also the place of his residence.

« Paris the 7th may 1817.

« The marshal duke of Feltre.

« To Mr Byrne captain of infantry in the ex 3d foreign regiment. »

Colonel Markey who had been several years aide-de-camp to the duke of Feltre, told me, that he had for a principle, to be serviceable to all those whom he once acknowledged had been unjustly treated; and to make them forget it, he had them advanced in rank as soon as possible. He did not remain long enough in the war department for me to avail myself of this propensity of his to render service. He was replaced in the war department by marshal Saint Cyr. — The duke of Feltre when out of office retired to his country seat in the department of the Bas-Rhin, quite dissatisfied with a court he had but too well served. He did not long survive the Bourbons ingratitude. He left three sons, very big young men. — I was very intimate with the second « Arthur; » he was a lieutenant of cavalry and asked to be employed on the expe-

dition to Greece in 1828 on the staff of general Schneider, the friend of his family. I saw him frequently at Patras in the Morea, and I must say, I never met any young man who possessed more enlightened or liberal opinions than he did, on every subject. — He got a sickness, a gastric, in Greece, of which he died when he returned to Paris. The duke and the younger brother have both died since. So the title of duke of Feltre is extinct, as none of them were married.

Extract from a work entitled « Histoire des Troupes étrangères au service de France, » par Eugène Fieffé, commis principal aux archives du ministère de la guerre. Paris 1854.

« Clarke (Henri-Jacques-Guillaume).

« Comte d'Hunebourg, duc de Feltre, issu d'une famille distinguée, originaire d'Irlande, naquit à Landrecies le 17 octobre 1765. Cadet gentilhomme à l'école militaire de Paris le 17 septembre 1781, sous-lieutenant au régiment d'infanterie de Berwick (1782), cornette dans le régiment du colonel général des hussards, avec rang de capitaine, en 1784; il se démit de cet emploi le 1er décembre 1789 pour passer à Londres en qualité de gentilhomme d'ambassade. Rentré dans l'armée le 11 juillet 1790, il fut capitaine au 16e, puis 14e régiment de dragons, lieutenant-colonel du 2e régiment de cavalerie le 5 février 1792; se signala à l'armée du Rhin, à la prise de Spire, fut nommé

général de brigade provisoire le 19 mai 1793; suspendu de ses fonctions au mois d'octobre de la même année et bientôt réintégré, il fut confirmé dans son grade, employé près le comité de salut public au cabinet topographique et militaire le 1er mars 1795; nommé général de division le 7 décembre suivant, et enfin envoyé extraordinaire près la cour de Vienne, il participa en cette qualité au traité de Campo Formio, en 1797.

« Réformé la même année, il devint ensuite chef du dépôt de la guerre le 27 novembre 1799, commandant du département de la Meurthe au mois de septembre 1800, ambassadeur en Toscane, conseiller d'Etat et secrétaire intime de Napoléon pour les affaires de la guerre 1805.

« Après avoir combattu à Ulm, il fut gouverneur de Vienne, de la basse Autriche, etc., se distingua encore à Iéna, devint gouverneur d'Erfurth, de Berlin, de la Prusse, et ministre de la guerre le 9 août 1807. — Comte d'Hunebourg peu de temps après : les vigoureuses mesures qu'il prit pour défendre l'île de Walcheren lui valurent le titre de duc de Feltre en 1809.

« Il cessa ses fonctions de ministre de la guerre le 3 avril 1814, siégea à la chambre des pairs le 4 juin, fut appelé à la tête du ministère de la guerre le 12 mars 1815, suivit le roi à Gand, fut gouverneur de la 9e division militaire le 15 septembre, membre au conseil privé le 19, ministre de la guerre pour la troisième fois le 28 du même mois,

gouverneur de la 14e division le 10 janvier 1816; élevé à la dignité de maréchal de France le 3 juillet suivant, il résigna le portefeuille de la guerre au mois de septembre 1817, et mourut à Neuville (Bas-Rhin), le 28 octobre 1818.

« Il fut chevalier de la couronne de Fer, grand cordon des ordres de Saint-Hubert de Bavière, de la Fidélité de Bade et de Saint-Henri de Saxe, grand-aigle de la Légion d'honneur et commandeur de Saint-Louis. »

There were three brothers of the name of « Burke » in the irish brigades; they were born in France, I only knew the one who had been aide-de-camp to marshal Davoust, the prince of Eckmuhl, and who was named general of division by Napoleon the 17th of november 1813, for his bravery, having been wounded more than a dozen times. After the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1814 lieutenant-general count Burke was named inspector general and charged with the organization of the three foreign regiments to be kept in the french service : 1st Latour d'Auvergne, 2d Isenberg, 3d Irlandais. These regiments were first assembled at Avesne and definitively organized into three battalions each, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, in the month of february 1815. The first and second régiments were ordered to other towns, and the 3d régiment étranger irlandais remained in garrison at Montreuil-sur-Mer. Having a congé or permission in 1814 to go to Paris, I waited on general Burke before setting

off, and I had a long conversation with him about Ireland; he told me how he had embarked twice in 1798 for the expeditions to Ireland in company with William Hamilton (Thomas Russell's nephew by marriage) of whose patriotism he spoke in the handsomest manner, and of his earnestness for the independence of Ireland « but, » he added, « now all that is over; you have no « pretender for Ireland; of course nothing can be expec- « ted from France. » He could then only think of legitimacy and monarchy. — However on the 20th of march 1815 general count Burke waited on the emperor Napoleon and offered to his majesty all he possessed in the world, « his heart and his sword; » Napoleon named him governor of Givet, an important command.

After the hundred days and the second restoration of the Bourbons, general Burke was a long time ere he could get into favour, on account of the gallant and brave defense he made of the fortress of Givet against the allies after the battle of Waterloo; — yet in 1823 when a french army was ordered into Spain to put down liberty there, and to restore the former despotism with Ferdinand VII, the commander in chief the duke d'Angoulême thought fit to give the command of one of the corps of his army to lieutenant-general count Burke. The campaign finished, he was raised to the peerage, and continued to sit in the Chamber of peers till his death, even in the reign of Louis-Philip.

One of general Burke's brothers was killed in a duel at Guadeloupe in the West Indies, by Cavanagh an officer of the same regiment. The other brother emigrated and entered the english service where he became major general. Count Burke not being married, his titles are extinct. He was grand officer of the Legion of honour, etc.

I recollect a curious coincidence. In august 1814 whilst at Avesnes inspector general Burke was preparing his report to the minister of war on the merits and claims of the brave irish officers returning from the russian prisons of Siberia, as well as those officers who escaped from Flushing, and from the english pontons, Curran's very ill-timed, and most silly letters from Paris in august 1814 to his friend counsellor Denis Lubé were published in the Dublin newspapers. The following article is from one of them on the irish exiles.

« I had hopes that England might let them back. The « season and the power of mischief is long past : the « number is almost too small to do credit to the mercy « that casts a look upon them. But they are destined to « give their last recollection of the green fields they are « never to behold, on a foreign death-bed, and to lose « the sad delight of fancied visits to them in a distant « grave. »

It caused no little indignation amongst the irish officers who had read it, and several of them met at dinner at the trois frères in the Palais-Royal, to talk it over. — These were, general Lawless, who came in from Saint-Germains for the meeting, commandant O'Reilly, captain Luke Lawless, Edward Lewens and John Sweetman, etc. We were a mixture of civil and military at dinner.

General Lawless asked Arthur Barker, as the youngest (for he was still a student at the irish college) to read those famous letters. — When read, general Lawless turning to Lewens said, « You must have told Curran that « our number was not worth the commiseration of Cas- « tlereagh. » — « Me sir! » cried Lewins in a great passion; « how could you think me capable of any such « thing? » — General Lawless rejoined « Of the exiles « at Paris, Curran only saw you and Corbet. — It would « have been better had he vented his spleen and ill hu- « mour on something else: he might have let the brave « irish officers who have escaped the dangers of their « various campaigns, be again placed on active service. »

To be just to the Restoration of 1814 an irish regiment was re-organized in february 1815, in which were comprised the officers coming from the war prisons, though to please Castlereagh, it was called the 3e régiment étranger irlandais. —

Curran, or some othermem bers of the former irish par-

liament, would only have done their duty to their countrymen who had hasarded every thing for Ireland, had he, or they asked for a general amnesty. Then the exiles might have availed themselves of it to return and resume their various professions, or enjoy their fortunes, in the land of their birth and the home of their affections. Those who had lost all, ought to have been left undisturbed, to serve their adopted country. Counsellor Lubé, who had at the time some of his relations in exile, would have done well had he dissuaded Curran from publishing his letters. Lewens could have made a handsome fortune in Dublin by his profession, had he been allowed to return.

General Kilmaine died before I came to Paris in 1803. I knew one of his aides-de-camp Mr Viltard, who married miss Jennings the general's sister. I had many agreeable conversations with them both, about Italy, Venise and Lombardy.

Charles Edward Paul Jennings was born at Dublin, 19th october 1751. — He entered the service of France 1774. He went through various ranks and was at last general of division may 1793.

He had served with distinction in America, under the orders of Rochambeau, and he again distinguished himself in the army of the Ardennes and in that of the north. But the multiplied proofs of talent, valour and patriotism

which he did not cease to give to the new government of France did not shelter him from the proscriptions of the day; he was deprived of his rank, arrested, and would have been tried and probably executed, when the revolution of the 9th thermidor (27 july 1794) in saving his life, replaced him in the army.

He defended the Convention against the factions in the days of prairial an III (may 1795). Employed in the army of Italy he added to his military reputation by many brilliant actions.

Sent for to Paris for the execution of a plan of a landing in Ireland, he was named provisionally chief of the army of England in the absence of general Desaix, but this expedition having been put off, he got a command in the interior, then that of the army of Helvetia — He gave up that position to Massena and came back to Paris where he died on the 15th of december 1799.

Mantua defended by the Austrian general Wurmser, surrendered to general Kilmaine, who blockaded it, 1st february 1797.

The Directory sent him the following letter of congratulation.

« Au général Kilmaine,

« La reddition de Mantoue rappelle, citoyen général,

au Directoire exécutif, que vous y avez heureusement contribué en commandant le blocus de cette place. Après avoir donné des preuves réitérées de valeur et de talent sur le champ de bataille, vous trouvez aujourd'hui, dans le commandement de la Lombardie, une occasion intéressante de déployer de nouveaux moyens également précieux, et le Directoire compte toujours sur votre sagesse et la pureté de vos principes républicains. »

(Notes de Fieffé, sur « l'Histoire des troupes étrangères au service de France, » par Eugène Fieffé, commis principal aux archives du ministère de la guerre, Paris, 1854.)

General Shelden was born in England; he had the rank of lieutenant in the irish brigade when thè wars of the revolution began, in which he took an active part and soon distinguished himself and got the rank of general of brigade in the french army. His widow madame Shelden lived next door to us in the rue Montaigne at Paris. Mrs Byrne and I saw a good deal of her and found her agreeable and very communicative respecting the irish in the french army. She herself was french, and her sons were officers.

General Lynch told me he was a captain at the battle of Valmy in 1792 on the staff of the commander in chief general Kellermann; after this victory and the peace of

1795, Prussia remained neuter for eleven years, till 1806. — Lynch got rapid promotion to the rank of general of division 8th march 1793. His health being much impaired, he was employed in France and named inspector of troops at Tours, and in 1808 when we were on march to Spain, general Lynch reviewed and inspected our battalions. He was tall and handsome, and though consumptive he lived to be 86 years of age.

The history of those unfortunate irish generals O'Moran and Dillon is well known. They were both killed by their own troops in the beginning of the Revolution. Their sons served in the irish regiment with me. Young O'Moran studied at the irish college and joined us at Lesneven in 1804, as a sous-lieutenant : we were lodged in the same house there, but as he was only seven years old at the time of his father's death, he could not recollect any particulars about him. Lieutenant O'Moran made part of the irish battalion that marched from Flushing to Spain in 1807, and in 1808 he was sent back to France to be placed in an hospital, having become deranged, there he died.

His father general O'Moran was born in Ireland, and was considered an officer of great military acquirement; he was named lieutenant-general the 3d of october 1792. How often would the governor of old Castile, general Thiébault, tell us when we were under his orders at Bur-

gos, in 1809, that he owed his rapid advancement to that brave and ever-to-be-lamented general O'Moran; he would say. « He took me out of the ranks of the volunteers « where I was a private soldier and had me named cap- « tain forthwith. Having studied law, he saw I could « render service as a staff officer. »

In reality, general Thiébault was a highly educated, accomplished man

General Theobald Dillon was massacred by his soldiers near Lille in april 1792. He left two sons. In april 1810 I met one of them captain Dillon; he was one of the staff officers of the duke of Abrantes at the siege of Astorga, and in 1811 he was named « chef de bataillon » of the 2d battalion of the irish regiment at Plasencia in Estremadura, Spain.

Commandant Dillon could command his battalion very well, in the manœuvres, but unfortunately he could not command that respect so essential for a chief. — He quit the regiment at Antwerp in december 1813, to become again a staff officer, and at the revolution of july 1830 he was a lieutenant-colonel in one of the regiments of the royal guards of Charles X and as his regiment was disbanded, he was put on half pay. — His brother was a sous-intendant militaire, and was much considered as an administrator.

In 1792, general Theobald Dillon, formerly colonel of an irish infantry regiment, in the service of France, attempted a coup de main on Tournay; but he had received orders to avoid fighting. — This order had been given him by Dumouriez, who thought that the appearance alone of french troops would suffice to make the Austrians retreat, and decide the Belgians to declare themselves and take up arms. Dumouriez knew that the Belgians were most desirous to be united to France, but he forgot they were not yet in sufficient force to declare and realise their wishes. — Received by a hot fire, Dillon retreated. It was at this moment that the enemy unmasked its batteries. — Some bullets ploughed the files of french soldiers and complet d the confusion. In vain Dillon tried to rally those who were running away before they were pursued, tumultuous cries, insults were heard around the general who was struck by a pistol shot. The Austrians rushed upon this disorganized body which fled to Lille. Scarce were they intrenched in that place when they seized the prisoners they had brought along with them and massacred them, as if they wished to revenge by a crime their own cowardice. In their blind fury some of these miserable wretches sought the unfortunate Dillon; they found him in a grange lying upon straw, exhausted by the loss of blood; they seized him and put him to death with their bayonets, stripped him and dragged him about the streets, cut him in pieces and burnt him on the great public square.

Names of officers born in Ireland who obtained the rank of general in France under the different governments between 1789 and 1814.

Oliver HARTY, made general of brigade the 15th of may 1793. — By the national Convention.

Thomas KEATING, general of division, 13th june 1795. — By the national Convention.

Charles-Edward-Paul-Jennings KILMAINE, general of division, 15th may 1793. — By the national Convention.

Isidore LYNCH, general of division, 8th may 1793. — National Convention.

Napper TANDY, general of brigade, 21st april 1798. — By the Directory.

Arthur O'CONNOR, general of division, 24th february 1804. — Under the First Consul Buonaparte.

Patrick O'KEEF, general of brigade, 15 may 1795. — National Convention.

James O'MORAN, lieutenant-general 3d artillery, 1792. — By the Legislative Assembly.

John O'Neill, general of brigade, 15th may 1793. — By the national Convention.

Richard O'Shee, general of brigade, 4th july 1796. — By the Directory.

I have been asked if general Murphy had not served in the old irish brigades. I said no, but that he had served in a counting house, as a clerk, in Thomas street, Dublin, as marshal Mortier, the duke of Treviso, did at Dunkirk, before he became a soldier. Murphy was young and wrote well and with facility. He came to France in 1800 expecting to get a commission. The irish Legion, not being yet formed, he engaged in a french regiment, where he could perfect himself in the language, having already a considerable knowledge of the grammar.

The regiment into which Murphy enlisted made a part of the army encamped at Boulogne-sur-Mer, destined for the invasion of England. His colonel « Ledru des Essars » was much considered as one of the brave band who fought at Marengo. He seeing that Murphy wrote a fine hand took him to be his secretary. Previous to the army marching from the camp of Boulogne for the campaign of Austerlitz, orders were given to all the regiments, for the chiefs to propose fit subjects to fill the vacant places. Murphy on this occasion got his commission of sub lieutenant, and he continued still to write as before.

In this memorable campaign of 1805 Murphy's colonel being wounded and raised to the rank of general of brigade, he asked as a favour from the emperor Napoleon, to have Murphy for his aide-de-camp, which was granted, and at the same time that decoration then so difficult to be obtained. Lieutenant Murphy was named chevalier of the Legion of honour and aide-de-camp to general Ledru des Essars.

It will suffice to shew that Murphy served in those campaigns with distinction, that in 1813 he was colonel, baron of the empire and chief of the staff of one of the divisions of marshal Marmont's corps of army in Silésia; and at the battle of Leipsick october 1813 his general of division, as well as the general of brigade being either killed or badly wounded, colonel Murphy had to command his division at this terrible battle.

After the restoration of the Bourbons, prince Hohenlohe who was colonel of the Legion Hohenlohe, being raised to the rank of marshal de camp, or general, colonel Murphy was appointed to the command of the Legion Hohenlohe, and on the 22^{d} of may 1825 he was promoted to the rank of general of brigade, then called marshal de camp, and during the reign of Charles X, general Murphy was named one of the inspectors general of the army; and one year he had the honour of being sent to the West india Islands to inspect the french troops there.

He sailed from Brest in a frigate which he had at his disposition, going from Island to Island till he had finished his inspection, and then returned to France.

After the Revolution of 1830, general Murphy was named to command the important fortress of Lille, and at this period it was thought war was inevitable, which shewed that his courage and talents were well known to the minister of war.

In 1834 general Murphy had the command of the department of the Creuse, where he remained till he was placed in the section of the generals who after they attain 62 years of age, enjoy their full pay and are not liable to be actively employed except in time of war. — General Murphy went to reside at Nancy, and then to Altenstat (Bas-Rhin) where he finished a long and honourable military career, in 1843. — He was married to a german lady, by whom he had a son. Both his wife and his son died some time before he died, so his latter days were but melancholy.

He was a baron, commander of the Legion of honour and a knight of Saint-Louis.

I found Murphy very ready to render service to his countrymen. I recollect when Mrs Ryan wrote to me from Wexford in 1825 about getting her grandson Andrew Kennedy into the french army, I went to consult my good friend doctor Mac Mahon; he at once said « I will

write to colonel Murphy, he is now at Brest, commanding the Hohenloe Legion and we shall see what he will advise. » By return of post we had his answer, which was a masterpiece of sound judgement and good sense and good advice. It contained every thing that could be said to dissuade young Kennedy from thinking of becoming a private soldier in the time of profound peace, and when no prospect of obtaining the rank of officer was possible before passing through the inferior ones, which might last many years, and he added in his excellent letter : « Is our unfortunate country in that state, that a « well educated young man, as you say Kennedy is, « cannot get some honourable employment preferable to « that of becoming a mercenary soldier in a foreign Le- « gion and in a foreign country? » But he again added, « If young Kennedy persists, I shall do all in my power « to be useful to him as long as I may remain at the head « of the regiment. » I enclosed this interesting letter to Mrs Ryan at Wexford, and young Kennedy, who was decided to try his fortune, set off at once and joined the Legion at Brest. — But Murphy being promoted to the rank of general shortly after, that is the 22d of may 1825 had not time to be of service to Andrew Kennedy, who had, as Murphy foretold, to drag on for years before he got the rank he so well merited. — Such were the times after the restoration.

Doctor Mac Mahon and Murphy were great friends,

and I believe their friendship originated, as mine did with Mac Mahon, from heartfelt gratitude. He was useful to both of us in the time of need. I never had a more constant, or a better friend than doctor Mac Mahon; in my dullest moments, seeing him for an instant cheered me up; and it was the same with general Murphy, who had his desponding fits also.

General Murphy spoke and wrote the french language perfectly, and german also; but he was beginning to forget his native tongue, that is, he was forgetting his english, which gave him no concern, as he never intended to reside in England. He was born the 29th september 1779 at Ballyadam, Ireland.

I met at Paris two worthy officers of the former irish brigades; commandant Begg and lieutenant-colonel Swanton. They were born in Ireland and did honour to their native land : they did not emigrate, on the breaking out of the Revolution, to go to England and take service as so many others did, to come and fight against France, their ad optedcountry. Begg belonged to Walsh's regiment, when general O'Neill was colonel of it; they were great friends, and Begg had the melancholy duty of having the poor general buried with all the honours due to his rank, his son being absent from Paris at the time with his regiment.

Lieutenant-colonel Swanton served in Berwick's regi-

ment with general Harty; and his wife's brother captain Chassery was the general's aide-de-camp in 1804 at the army destined for Ireland, then in the department of Finistère.

Captain Chassery (Swanton's brother-in-law), by his talents and bravery in the memorable campaigns where he was employed, soon got from rank to rank to that of general of brigade; this last honour he received at the battle of Waterloo, the day he was killed His death was a sad affliction to poor colonel Swanton, his wife, son and daughter. Young Swanton was a lieutenant in the irish regiment and he made the campaigns of Germany in 1813 with the regiment. He was taken prisoner after our disasters on the Bober, 29th of august, and sent to Russia, where he suffered much, till he was exchanged in 1814. After the hundred days, young Swanton studied to become a staff officer, and on the 9th of may 1827 he was named captain of the corps royal d'etat-major, and the year after to the command in the Hautes-Alpes for enrolling the conscripts, the 11th may 1828. — His sister, a fine young girl, had the greatest merit. By her talents and knowledge of languages, she wrote and published different little works, for one of which she had the Monthion prize awarded her by the french academy; these, with the translations from the works of Thomas Moore and Maria Edgeworth into french, enabled her to render the last days of her aged and respected parents comfortable. —

Miss Swanton married Mr Belloc an eminent painter and professor of drawing at one of the colleges at Paris. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Casimir Perier bring miss Swanton to the altar at the church of Saint-Sulpice. He was the friend of her family.

I met colonel Barry at Paris, he served in the irish brigade with marshal Mac Donald, and in the same company, when the latter, a young lad, came to join the regiment with the rank of sous-lieutenant, or ensign. Barry being lieutenant and a good instructor, was ordered to teach the « maniement des armes, » or manuel exercise to Mac Donald, and thus began the friendship of those two young officers which subsisted till their death. — When Mac Donald became general, he took Barry on his staff, and he availed himself of the many battles he had fought to ob'ain recompense for those who distinguished themselves in the actions; and by this means Barry at length got the rank of colonel. He was ordered to the french West India Islands, where he had a command, and where he married a lady of the country by whom he got a fortune. After the restoration of the Bourbons, colonel Barry retired to Tours where he met colonels Ware, Allen, and Hayne, and they were all great friends.

I only knew marshal Macdonald in the campaign of 1813 in Silésia, when he had the command in chief of two corps of the Grand Army, his own and the 5th corps

general Lauriston's, which Napoleon thought prudent to place under his orders.

After the Restoration I had to wait on him when he was grand chancellor of the legion of honour, to get him to sign some papers for me, and I can never forget his kind reception. He began at once to speak to me of the distinguished manner our regiment served in that unfortunate campaign; of colonel Lawless, of Ware, of Tennant, and the great losses we sustained on the Bober; his manner and his simplicity with me, was more like a comrade than a general in chief.

Marshal Macdonald was one of the five members who composed the bureau gratuit, or commission, for regulating the affairs of the irish college after the restoration of the Bourbons. His colleagues were Hely d'Oyssel, then a counsellor of state; Lally Tollendal a peer of France, lieutenant-general count O'Mahony and doctor Mac Mahon; the latter being physician to the college, and having studied there when young, and having a perfect knowledge of the many changes wich took place in the establishment subsequent to the Revolution, marshal Macdonald and the other members of the commission were generally guided by the information they got from him respecting those who had a right to « bursaries » in this rich seminary, and the way the irish catholics had vested money at different periods in the french funds, and in land, for the support of their colleges in France.

Doctor Mac Mahon rendered so much service to the commission, and made their task so easy, that he became on the most friendly terms with its members, particularly so with marshal Macdonald and Lally Tollendal : the latter being appointed at that time one of the reporters by the chamber of peers on occasion of the great conspiracy in the army, 19th august 1820, to try 65 officers accused of conspiring against the Bourbon's family, seeing amongst the number of the officers he had to report on, the name of an irish man « O'Brien, » asked doctor Mac Mahon if he knew him, and if not, to enquire amongst his irish friends in order to find out something favourable about captain O'Brien, that he might put it in his report to be laid before the peers then sitting as a court of justice to try this vast military conspiracy, in which so many generals, colonels, chefs de bataillon, captains, lieutenants, etc., were engaged. The following are a few of the 65 names. General Merlin, colonels Fabvier, Pailhès, Deutzel, Baillon and Varlet. — Bérard chef de bataillon ; — capitaine Varlet ; — lieutenant Hutteau, etc., etc.

Doctor Mac Mahon answered Lally Tollendal that he knew already a great deal about captain O'Brien, from one of his friends in whom he could confide, and he was pleased to mention me as the person, that I had told him how honourably O'Brien served in the irish regiment from the time he joined it at Landau in 1809 as sub-lieu-

tenant and as lieutenant in the campaign of Silesia in 1813, where he had the misfortune to be wounded and taken prisoner, and to be sent to Siberia. When he was exchanged, after the peace and the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814, lieutenant O'Brien rejoined the irish regiment and after the Hundred Days in 1815, on its being disbanded at Montreuil-sur-Mer, he was put on half pay. He however got soon re-employed. — The duke of Feltre, then war minister, knew his father, lieutenant-colonel O'Brien, in the irish brigade, and seeing the son a fine young man, more than six feet two inches high, had him placed in his rank of lieutenant in one of the legions, and on the 24th of march 1819, the then minister of war marshal Saint-Cyr, granted to O'Brien his commission of captain.

Being with his regiment in garrison at Paris in 1820, at the time of the conspiracy, it sufficed for captain O'Brien to be seen in a coffee house frequented by captain Nantil, or any other of the conspirators to be suspected of being an accomplice. — But O'Brien had irish blood in his veins, and was incapable of doing any thing unworthy of a french officer and a man of honour.

Doctor Mac Mahon with the above information, and aided by marshal Macdonald, succeeded in getting Lally Tollendal to make a favourable report in the chamber of peers, of captain O'Brien, and in consequence, he was let out of prison and allowed to go and reside with his widowed

mother and a young brother at Baushand département du Nord, and his name was not mentioned in the trial. Lally Tollendal had to report on seven of the accused, out of the 65 arrested, and O'Brien was the only one who escaped being brought to the bar of the chamber of Peers. Thanks to the exertions of doctor Mac Mahon to whom he not only owed his liberation on this occasion, but his being again put into activity of service, after remaining several years on half pay.

O'Brien was appointed captain to the 11th regiment of the line on the 28th september 1824, and he was raised to the rank of chef de bataillon at the siege of Constantine, october 1837, in Africa, where he made several campaigns, and had his health much injured before he retired.

O'Brien's gratitude to doctor Mac Mahon was most sincere and lasting; and Mac Mahon well merited it from him and many others; for he never ceased using his influence with his cousin colonel O'Neill who was chef du bureau d'infanterie at the war office, to get him to serve irishmen, or the sons of irishmen, officers in the french army. Captain O'Brien was also very grateful to marshal Macdonald and to Lally Tollendal.

Altho' born in France, Macdonald belongs to the glorious family of general officers of foreign origin. — Niel Macdonald his father, was a younger son of the scotch family of Macdonald of Clanronald. He accompanied

prince Charles Edward Stuart in his flight in 1746 and came into France.

His son Stephen-James-Joseph-Alexander Macdonald was born at Sedan in 1765. — After being in various regiments he was aide-de-camp to Dumouriez and gained on the field of battle of Jemmapes his epaulets of colonel of the 2d regiment of infantry. General of brigade the 26 august 1793, he distinguished himself in Holland and merited the rank of general of division, november 1794, and was again distinguished by his great bravery at the fatal battle of Trebbia in Italy. — He was distinguished forh is conduct in Italy again in the campaign of 1809, for which he was named a marshal of France, duke of Tarento, etc., grand eagle of the Legion of honour.

In 1810 he was commander in chief of the army of Catalonia. In 1812 of the 10th corps in Russia. In 1813 of the 11th and took an active part in the victory of Lutzen; was distinguished at Bautzen, was beaten at Katzbach, and was covered with glory at Wurschen, Leipzig, Hanau, as well as in the campaign in France.

Under the 2d restoration marshal Macdonald was named chancellor of the Legion of honour. He died at the chateau of Courcelles near Gien (Loiret) in septemLer 1840.

Lieutenant O'Keeff, a splendid young officer whose father was raised to the rank of general of brigade 15th may 1795 in the french army during the wars, had to

remain several years on the small half pay of a lieutenant, and his mother, a widow living on a scanty pension, could not afford him much assistance. — Colonel O'Neill had him placed in activity, and on the 5th of april 1826 O'Keeff was named captain adjutant major in the 32d regiment of the line. I saw his mother at Paris, but I only met himself for the first time at Nantes in 1832; he sometimes came to dine at our mess, and the officers of the 56th seemed to like him very much He was acting then as captain reporter to one of the councils of war, or court martial, in which capacity he shewed ability and talent, having to plead against the first lawyers of Nantes. O'Keeff was advanced to the rank of superior officer, and he made campaigns in Africa as lieutenant-colonel, with the 56th regiment of the line, and he was promoted to the rank of full colonel in the 6th regiment of light troops. The President of the Republic raised him to the rank of general of brigade in 1852. Unfortunately O'Keeff did not enjoy those last honours long; his health was shattered by the climate of Africa, and his brilliant military career, like that of many of his comrades, terminated too soon, and before they had time to render the services the country required from their experience and devotion to the cause of freedom and nationality. — O'Keeff's father died at Briançon near Grenoble. I never saw him, but I heard much of his patriotic love of Ireland, his native country and of his hatred of the english yoke.

General O'Keeff was replaced in the command of his regiment the 7th light infantry, by an irishman, Charles Sutton de Clanard, cousin to marshal Bugeaud. — He was born at Wexford; his father the count de Clanard, was an officer in the old irish brigade, and at the revolution of 1789 emigrated and entered the service of England. At the restoration of the Bourbons, he sold his commission of captain in the english service and returned to France, accompanied by his wife an irish woman, and his children, consisting of four sons and two daughters; in 1814 the duke of Feltre obtained for him the pension of retreat as a lieutenant-colonel in the french army, and a bourse at the college of La Flèche, for his second son Charles, who afterwards finished his studies at the college of Saint-Cyr, and then received his commission of sous-lieutenant in 1827, and he advanced from rank to rank rapidly, having made several campaigns in Africa, till he was named colonel of the 6th light infantry regiment which took the number of 81, of the line. In 1857 colonel Sutton de Clanard was promoted to the rank of general of brigade by the emperor Napoleon III.

When I arrived at Paris in 1803, doctor Mac Mahon was the physician of the irish college, where he had studied under the auspices of his uncle doctor O'Reilly, one of the physicians to Louis XVI. Doctor O'Reilly being suspected and obliged to conceal himself after the king's execution, young Mac Mahon was also suspected, and

he narrowly escaped the terrorism of that dreadful period. He told me how he was stopped one night at the place Saint-Michael, by a hatter who knew him; Mac Mahon being in the habit of bringing his countrymen to that man's shop to purchase what they wanted in his line. This worthy hatter told Mac Mahon that orders were given to have him and others arrested; that a battalion of volunteers, of which he was one of the captains, would be reviewed next day in the court yard of the college Louis-le-Grand, by the representatives of the people, previous to its marching off to join the army of the Rhine; and he advised him to hide the best way he could till then and to be at the gate of the college with his musket when the battalion would be marching out. Mac Mahon fortunately had friends at the college where he spent the night, and only came out when his captain the hatter was passing who rudely pushed him into the ranks, with a severe reprimand, saying, he hoped he had taken a last farewell of his mistress. Thus Mac Mahon got safely out of Paris; at Saint-Denis his captain took care that he should be appointed on the detachment which marched before day, to escort the fourriers who were charged with preparing the lodgings for the battalion at the etapes. By these precautions Mac Mahon reached the army, then the only sure refuge against the local persecutions existing throughout France during that terrible crisis : he soon got an appointment in the military hospitals following the armies, where he had the advantage of improving

himself in his profession; and after he had made several campaigns under Moreau and other generals in chief, he was allowed to return to finish his studies at the medical school of Paris, where he was soon received doctor by the faculty there.

Mac Mahon in a short time acquired reputation as a french physician and got into great practice. I need not say that he had no lack of irish clients amongst the poor exiles of Erin during his long career at Paris. — In 1825 he was named by the minister of public instruction, head librarian to the medical school. This honour, with that of physician to the irish college, were the titles he prized most.

After a short illness doctor Mac Mahon died in the month of december 1835, greatly regretted by his numerous french and irish friends. He was born in Ireland, and ever did honour to the land of his birth : his friendship was sincere and lasting, and no difficulty could prevent him rendering service to a friend in distress. — In my notes I have mentioned somes instances of his readiness to be useful to his countrymen abroad.

I must now speak of another worthy irishman who not only studied at the irish college, but had the honour of saving that establishment in the time of Robespierre's terror from being pillaged by a mob. — Mac Canna seeing this gang approach stood at the gate with a pistol in each hand and primed and loaded; he declared to them that he would shoot the first man who attempted to break the

door, and then he harangued them in the following manner. « Know citizens, that this college was founded to « educate the sons of the victims of despotism and ty- « ranny; they suffered martyrdom for the sake of equa- « lity and the rights of man, and many of those who « studied here, are now in the french ranks of the « army fighting on the frontiers against the european « tyrants, to prevent them profaning the sacred land of « liberty in France. As to me, I am going to embark on « board a french warship where I expect soon to have « an occasion to fight our worst enemies the English. » — Mac Canna had the satisfaction to see that his eloquent harangue succeeded. The mob marched away, delighted with him and exclaiming he was a « brave bon diable. » He received, as he well merited, the thanks of the superior and inmates of the college for his courage and presence of mind in such a dangerous situation. — Mac Canna sailed twice from the french seaports on expeditions destined to aid the irish in obtaining their independence. These expeditions failing, he embarked on board a french privateer, where his services could tend to injure England, a country he cordially hated. He succeeded rapidly in this kind of warfare. — When our regiment was encamped at Boulogne-sur-Mer in 1807, we met Mac Canna there, then a wealthy merchant, or « armateur, » and a partner in one of the first houses He had married a widow, and they were living in good style. — He shewed himself here to be a useful and sincere friend to

his countrymen. — Lieutenant Powell of the irish regiment having insulted at the review passed by general Saint-Cyr, a captain Delorme, a prussian, who was following the regiment expecting to get a company in it one day, and who wished to be seen defiling before the general; and who came to take lieutenant Powell's place, who was commanding the company in the absence of his own captain. « Shew your order » said Powell. « I have none » replied captain Delorme « but I am your superior. » Lieutenant Powell lost patience and pushed the captain very rudely out of his way and continued to march as if nothing had happened. The review finished, lieutenant Powell was arrested and sent to the town prison, and orders were given to have him tried forthwith by a court martial, of which general Dufour was the president, a great friend of Mac Canna's. The latter lost no time in explaining to the general president, who Powell was, and the part he had taken with general Humbert in Ireland, and who the prussian captain was, who had abandoned both his king and country when they were in distress. — He also got one of his friends, a major of a french regiment to defend lieutenant Powell at the court martial when it would sit.

Other complications ensued before the trial took place ; the lieutenants of the irish regiment assembled and decided to force the prussian captain to prove that he was worthy to wear the insign or epaulets of an officer. Lots being cast, it fell on Allen to give the first challenge and

he had no sooner delivered it, than he was arrested and sent to the town prison. I must mention the part I took on hearing of this occurrence, not as a boast, far from it. Lieutenant O'Reilly and I met the prussian captain Delorme, in the fields coming from the commander's house, where he had been making his report on Allen's being sent to prison. We stopped him, saying, he would receive no more challenges, but that he should instantly receive something else, if he did not comply with our request. He asked time to go into town to get a second, and he pledged his honour that he would not report us to the general. He soon returned with a captain of a swiss regiment then in garrison at Boulogne-sur-Mer. O'Reilly and he fought with small swords for about two minutes, when he asked to repose an instant, putting the point of his sword to the ground, which O'Reilly generously acceded to. Delorme seemed quite out of breath and could scarcely speak. He then said, if he was allowed time, he would endeavour to get into another regiment and if he did not succeed, he would give in his resignation.

It was feared that this duel and this last transaction might be injurious to the officers in prison, Allen and Powell, but our good friend Mac Canna's exertions and his wide acquaintance amongst the french officers prevented it, and he was of the greatest use to us. Allen being ill in prison, was sent to the hospital, where general Dufour and Mac Canna went to see him. I met them

in the garden walking with Allen, who was highly flattered and consoled by their visit : the general told us that the court martial was convoked for the saturday after at « Ambleteuse, » three leagues from our camp, to try Powell, and as he would be well defended, we need not have any apprehension on the matter. Indeed so far he was right, for the day of the trial was a day of victory for Ireland. Her claims on France were most eloquently put forward, and Powell being one of those who had to exile himself after general Humbert's surrender in Ireland to lord Cornwallis in august 1798, the able defender was furnished with a theme which he certainly turned to good account. « Gentlemen, judges, » said he, « you « have to decide between captain Delorme, a prussian « adventurer, who when he chooses, can return to his « home, and even go and see his king at Berlin — and « an irish man, lieutenant Powell, who had to expatriate « himself and abandon all that was dear to him in his « beloved country, when general Humbert capitulated « without being able to make any terms for the brave « irish who flocked to his standard; you will prove to all « those of them both at home and abroad, by your ver- « dict this day, that they have no injustice to fear in « France, and that the sacrifices Ireland has ever made « for the french nation shall not be forgotten. Your « decision will also shew to the general in chief, that if « the commander of the regiment had done his duty, he « would have put captain Delorme under arrest, for hav-

« ing presumed to take the command of a company from « its immediate chief without his order; this neglect « must be explained to the general in chief who will soon « see who the persons are who merited punishment. And « now gentleman, » said this eloquent defender, « let me « tell you before I conclude, that you have here in your « presence, in this court, brave irish men who have been « sold by their task masters the English, to captain De- « lorme's king; that wily prussian monarch availed him- « self of Ireland's cruel situation in 1798 to get men at « a cheap rate to work in his mines; he sent his agents to « New Geneva, a prison in Ireland, to pick from amongst « the unfortunate prisoners, who were under sentence of « transportation for having joined the french when ge- « neral Humbert landed on the irish coast, able bodied « men; those irish patriots worked like slaves for years, « in the prussian mines, when they were compelled to « become soldiers, to complete his prussian majesty's « army, who though in peace with the world thought « it right to have his army greatly augmented to be ready « to pounce on France the moment she met with any re- « verses, and to join her enemies. Fortunately our vic- « tories in 1805 of Ulm and Austerlitz, frustrated this « treacherous design against France, and the battle of « Iena in 1806 had the chains of hundreds of those brave « irish patriots broken, who had been eight years in bon- « dage in his prussian majesty's states. »

The following are the names of a few of those present

at this court martial, who were released after the battle of Iena. —Mallowney, wounded at Castlebar and sentenced to be transported; he was sent to New Geneva prison, and there sold to the king of Prussia; serjeant major then in the irish legion and afterwards captain in the irish regiment in Spain 1812. O'Brien, Dalton, Keagh, Doyle, and Cane I knew in the insurrecection of 1798. Young Gunning, the son of a county of Kildare gentleman, elegant and handsome, but very delicate. I asked him one day, how he could bear up with the hard work of the mines. « Oh! » he replied « Patt Foster did his own task and mine too; otherwise I could not have survived. » Foster indeed was equal to accomplish such deeds : he was the son of a farmer and accustomed to country work; he was six feet two inches in height and about 25 years of age; very handsome, simple as a child and brave as a lion.

The major in his defence of Powell, took care to mention two other officers his fellow sufferers who were present in the court, « Mr John Gibbons, a wealthy country « gentleman at Newport and his son Edward; for having « allowed their horses to be employed to transport gene- « ral Humbert's baggage, the son was transported to Bo- « tany Bay. From thence he escaped. He is here a sous « lieutenant in the irish regiment, and his father is a « lieutenant whilst the prussian Delorme is a captain. »

« Gentlemen, this is one of the many instances of what « the unfortunate irish have suffered for France through-

« out our wars with England, and I am sure your verdict « to day will satisfy them that before a french tribunal « they may expect impartial justice. I have done. »

The court martial after a few minutes deliberation unanimously acquitted lieutenant Powell.

Mr Mac Canna ordered a splendid breakfast at Ambleteuse to be ready when the trial should be finished, to which he invited his french and irish friends. I need not say that « Erin go bragh » was toasted in bumpers of sparkling champaign ; and when the major's health was given, he who had so eloquently defended Powell, he replied very modestly that he felt the greatest pleasure in pleading not only the cause of Powell, but of the irish exiles in general, who were well entitled to the sympathy of the french nation, and of every true french patriot. « But gentlemen » he said, « my task was not a difficult « one. My honourable friend Mac Canna handed me, as « you say in English, my brief; he gave me in his own « handwriting the statement of the case I had to plead, « and allow me to tell you, none but a first rate french « scholar could have drawn up such a document. I have « studied the law before I became a soldier, and I flatter « myself that I know my language tolerably well ; « Mr Mac Canna not only writes french purely and correctly, but he makes use of expressions not always « familiar to people, except those who are highly educated. » It was very true that at that time those who

studied at the irish college, became very good french scholars; but Mac Canna would rather not have received this compliment, lest it might diminish our admiration of his friend's most clever defence of Powell. However we spent a delightful day, thanks to Mr Mac Canna. We took leave of him in the evening and returned to our camp in high spirits, after this « half » victory, for Allen being still in prison, we could not consider it otherwise. He however was let out next day, when he sent a challenge by captain Dowdall to the prussian captain Delorme, who refused to fight Allen, but he signed a paper, saying, that if he could not get exchanged into another regiment before six months, he would give in his resignation. Thus ended this very disagreeable business, and the regiment was ordered to quit the camp and march to Antwerp immediately.

The day after we arrived there, Allen and I were taking breakfast in a coffee house, when the post man brought me a letter from our mutual friend captain Valentine Derry, who had resigned and left the regiment a short time before; being on the point of going to America, he went out to Saint-Germain-en-Laye to take leave of some friends he had there ; a letter was handed him to read, written nearly three months before, by a major Plunket, one of the old irish brigade officers retired at Boulogne-sur-Mer. This letter contained silly remarks on our shabby appearance the day our regiment arrived at Bou-

logne after marching eight leagues in a very wet day in the month of march. — Derry gave me in his letter a full extract of major Plunket's ill-natured remarks.

After reading Derry's letter, Allen asked for pen, ink and paper, and whilst I was looking over the newspapers, wrote a letter of great length to major Plunket, who seemed to us a harmless, gentlemanly old man, always dressed with silk stockings and kneebuckles. Mr and Mrs Barker had him frequently at dinner, and it was at their house I often met him. Captain Barker had served with him in Walsh's regiment before the revolution, and considered him a good irishman. — After citing the passage of poor Plunket's letter to his old comrade at Saint-Germain, Allen asked him, if it was the green banner with the golden harp without the crown, on one side, and on the other in gold letters « Independence of Ireland, Buonaparte First Consul, République française » that displeased him so much? that as to our uniform, that was a matter of taste. We irish patriots preferred it, because it was green, the colour cherished in our native land, and our own adoption, preferable to the « Stuart livery » now so stigmatized and disgraced in the ranks of the english army. Was this the way you took to requite the brave captain Barker's hospitality? You are a sad specimen of the degenerated former irish brigades, etc., etc. Allen could not speak or write on such occasions but in the strongest terms. I wanted him not to send the letter, that it was not worth taking notice of old Plun-

ket's private correspondence, but he persevered, and by return of post he had a letter from Mr Mac Canna stating that major Plunket asked him to be his second to fight Allen, and that after reading the letter and hearing the whole story, he refused, but told him, that he was ready to accompany him to Saint Germain-en-Laye to call out the fellow who had made such an use of a gentleman's private correspondence; that it was a fortunate circumstance for him, that the irish regiment had marched away from Boulogne before the letter came to hand, otherwise he would have had the whole corps of officers to deal with, and would be forced to retract what he had written in march, and it was now the middle of june. Mr Mac Canna thus succeeded in satisfying poor Plunket, — and so the affair ended without a duel. Thanks again to Mac Canna, who was a great peace maker amongst his friends and acquaintances; he was much considered in consequence. He had however, sometimes to go to the ground on his own account. He was a first rate swordsman and had nothing to dread, though not very young and getting quite corpulent. — He told me how he took lessons in fencing every year, lest he should not be able to defend himself in the time of need. His nephew Mullen, or Mac Mullen who joined the regiment in 1806 kept up a correspondence with his uncle, so through him we continued to hear from time to time of our worthy countryman Mac Canna. But Allen and I going to Spain in 1808 and poor Mullen dying of the wounds he

received at the siege of Flushing in 1809, we were deprived of the pleasure of hearing further particulars of Mac Canna; we heard that he ended his days at Boulogne much regretted by his french and irish friends there.

I frequently met at Mr Emmett's a very worthy irishman, Mr Delany : he was a great friend of poor Thomas Russell and his nephew William Hamilton. He studied at the irish college, and was considered a young man of talent and an accomplished scholar. Delany's ambition was to accompany Thomas Addis Emmett to Ireland, and there to be employed under him in a civil capacity, in the event of his country obtaining her independence He had a very honourable situation as private secretary to Mr Defermont, a councillor of state, and they were living together on the most friendly terms. Young Delany came from the Kerry mountains where he had learned the first rudiments of grammar, and finished his studies in France. I cannot forget how he would lament in the presence of Mr and Mrs Emmett, the cruel privations suffered by the catholic population of Munster, particularly as regarded education. No school masters to teach the children of the unfortunate farmers, but no lack of little proctors,

land and law agents, to extort the last shilling from the people, for the support of the protestant ascendency and the dignity of the english lords, the scourge of poor Ireland.

Mr Emmett and doctor Mac Neven wished to publish an elaborate article on the advantages the french commerce was likely to obtain by adhering to certain rules, and as this article should appear in french as well as english the same day, and though these gentlemen wrote good french, they thought fit to get Mr Delany to translate it. When it was laid before the first consul, he seemed to take no heed of it, till he was visiting the coast in november 1803. Then he saw the purport of it, and he wrote to Paris to have Mr Emmett and doctor Mac Neven's article published in the Moniteur and the Argus newspaper, edited in english by Goldsmith.

Mr Lesage, the french gentleman from whom I was taking lessons, and who had passed fourteen years in London, and consequently was a good english as well as french scholar, called on me when he had read Mac Neven and Emmett's article, and said he had seldom read such beautiful french as those gentlemen had written, and asked me to get him a copy of the one in english, that he might compare them : he was indeed much delighted with the composition of both, but gave the preference to the french version.

Mr Delany obtained from the minister of war in 1809 a commission for his brother as sous lieutenant in the third battalion of the irish regiment then in garrison at Landau upon the Rhine. This battalion being ordered to join the second battalion in Spain, both were employed ad the siege of Astorga, in april 1810, in general Thomier's brigade and 2d division general Solignac's, 8th corps, commanded by general Junot, the duke of Abrantes.

Captain Allen of the second irish battalion, having mounted the breach at the head of his company of voltigeurs, and having succeeded in getting into the town and taking possession of a house where he defended himself against the enemy, waiting for reinforcements to come in the morning, about midnight a detachment was ordered to carry ammunition and provisions to Allen and his men who passed the breach. Young Delany was the officer who got the command, and he coolly and bravely executed his mission, to the satisfaction of the general, but he lost many of his men, and he got a ball through his own arm. He returned through the trenches, to the place where the surgeon of the irish regiment was busily employed dressing the soldiers' wounds. He was there looking on for some time, when surgeon Prevot said, « Mr Delany I beg your pardon, but my orders are, not to allow any one to remain here except the wounded. » — « Well, » replied Delany, « in that case I have a right to « remain, I have got a ball through my arm, and now

« that your hurry is over, will you be good enough to « examine it? » The surgeon quite surprised and distressed said, « my instructions are to dress the officer's « wounds first; why did you not tell me at once? » — « Oh! » answered Delany « the poor soldiers you were at- « tending, stood in more need than I did. » — Surgeon Prevot having reported in the morning to the general in chief all that regarded his own profession, did not omit to mention Delany's humane patience, waiting to have his wound examined nearly an hour till a dozen soldiers had their wounds dressed.

The duke of Abrantes on hearing this report, ordered Delany to be carried on the list for promotion, and he soon received his brevet of lieutenant, and in the campaign of Portugal was placed in the grenadiers company, which I commanded. — In 1812 when our battalion was ordered from Spain to join the Grand Army in Germany, I got permission at Bordeaux to take the coach to Paris. I promised lieutenant Delany to write to him poste restante at Orleans to let him know about his worthy brother from whom he had not heard for a long time. I was much grieved on arriving at Paris, to learn, that the latter had been dead three months. He left no fortune, and no debts. He spent his money in the most generous manner, and he was surrounded by his irish friends at his last moments; a great consolation for an exile! —

Lieutenant Delany was inconsolable when he read my letter at Orleans, for he had lost a brother who was like

a father to him. A small compensation awaited him. Altho' one of the junior lieutenants of the regiment, he was promoted to the rank of captain, at the same time as Mallowney, Jackson and Burke. When the irish regiment was disbanded after the hundred days in 1815, captain Delany retired on half pay, and died a few years afterwards at Boulogne-sur-Mer.

John Sweetman dead for the cause of freedom and justice can never be forgotten in Ireland.

John Tennant left his only child to the care of his friend Richard Mac Cormick; this worthy exile, when allowed to return to his native land, brought miss Tennant with him. He had her married to a gentleman at Dublin, a Mr Murray.

EDWARD MASTERSON. — Captain, the 7th december 1803. He quitted the english service and came to France to visit his brother, John Masterson, who had been an officer in one of the irish brigades in France before the Revolution, and who had acquired a fortune with a lady he married in the Island of Antigua. This gentleman being in France when the hostilities recommenced in 1803 preferred to be a prisoner of war, as an english subject, in order to preserve his property. He however kept up his acquaintance with his former comrades, who did not emigrate. — General Clark befriended his brother; but poor captain Edward Masterson did not live

long enough to avail himself of the « mighty » patronage of the duke of Feltre; he died near Bruges of the Flushing fever in 1809. — He was married in 1805, to the daughter of the marquis de Castrot at Quimper. He had no children.

JOHN AHERAN. — Captain, 7th december 1803. He came to France to finish his studies, and when war broke out with England, he was one of the irish patriots who offered their services to the french government. He twice embarked for Ireland, and after the failure of those expeditions, he had the good fortune to escape back to France. The irish legion being on march to Mayence, in 1806, poor captain Aheran died suddenly at Metz.

PATT MAC SHEEHY. — Captain at the formation of the legion, 7th december 1803. He studied in France. Returned to Ireland. Was employed as a tutor in rich catholic families. In 1798 he was professor of french at Mr Jone's academy in the town of Gorey, and one of the yeoman cavalry of that district during the insurrection. His cousin adjutant general Mac Sheehy obtained for him the commission of captain, when after a short trial, he was found unfit for the rank. He was reformed, and retired on a small pension.

TYRREL. — Captain, 7th december 1803. Never joined the legion from the bad state of his health. He was one

of the irish exiles much considered by all his acquaintance.

JOHN SWEENY. — Lieutenant at the formation of the irish legion, 7th december 1803. Captain, the 22d march 1804. His military career in the french service was not of long duration. After his duel with captain Thomas Corbet in august 1804, he resigned his commission and went to reside at Morlaix, where he married a lady of the family connexion of general Moreau.

John Sweeny belonged to the city of Cork, where he had taken an active share in the political affairs of 1798; he was the friend, and fellow prisoner of Thomas Addis Emmett in the jails of Ireland, and at fort George in Scotland. He was a very handsome, fine-looking man, possessed of the talents fitted to have made him a splendid officer. To see Ireland independent was his highest wish, and no danger, however great, could prevent him embarking in any scheme, or undertaking, to accomplish it. Though on the list of the banished prisoners who were never to return to their native land, yet the undaunted Sweeny did not hesitate to go there in 1803, when he expected to be able to join and assist poor Robertt Emmett. It was with the greatest difficulty he effected his escape back to France, after he had heard the news of the failure in Dublin the 22d july 1803.

HUGH WARE. — Lieutenant, 7th december 1803. Cap-

tain, 22d march 1804. Chef de bataillon, july 1810. Gros major, or lieutenant-colonel, march 1814. Colonel, april 1815, — decorated with the cross of chevalier of the Legion of honour, 18th of june 1813. —

The irish regiment which he commanded, being disbanded in the month of september 1815, at Montreuil-sur-Mer, he remained there to give up the accounts of his regiment till may 1816, when he retired on half pay to the town of Tours, where he terminated his honourable career the 5th of march 1846. His death was accompanied with one regret, and one only, — that it was not in his home, and in harness. — Honour to the warrior's bones!

Colonel Ware was the most humane and generous of men; his hospitality and great generosity often left him with an empty purse. — The experience he acquired in the irish insurrection of 1798 was of great use to him in the french army, where he served with such distinction; it familiarized him to the dangers, and privations of every sort which a soldier is sure to find in active campaigns. The years in which Ware was so unjustly detained in the prisons of Dublin were not entirely lost; he spent his time generally in studying military tactics; and being a great reader and endowed with a good memory, he left the english dungeons with a thorough knowledge of the french evolutions of the line, and often on the field of exercise he would decide on some disputed manœuvre, although he probably had not read that passage from the

day he left Kilmainham jail. — In person, Ware was handsome and well made, tall, being more than six feet high, powerfully strong and active. — As to horsemanship, no one could surpass him; and this is a valuable acquirement for a field officer. — Much as been related of him in the narrative of the campaigns of the irish in the service of France, but not all that might have been said, for he was the bravest of the brave.

AUSTEN O'MALLY. — Lieutenant of the irish legion, the 7th december 1803. — Captain, the 22d, march 1804. — O'Mally made all the campaigns with his regiment in Germany, Spain and Portugal down to 1812; being just returned from Spain that year, to Holland, he was detached with his company from the garrison of Bergen-op-Zoom, to one of the islands on the coast, where from the sudden transition of the climates his sight began to fail, and finally he became quite blind. His military career thus finished, he had to retire on a pension. He was married to the daughter of the governor of the Island. He had two sons. The eldest is the distinguished colonel of the 73d regiment whose brilliant services in a period of 17 years, in Crimea, at Sebastopol, in Italy in 1859, at the battles of Magenta, Solferino, etc., are well known in the french army, and still better by the enemies of France.

AUSTEN O'MALLEY was one of the young irish patriots

who came at the head of the country people to join the french general, Humbert, when the latter landed with his little army of eleven hundred men, at Killalo in the month of august 1798; the failure of that expedition not only ruined O'Malley's own prospects, but those of his father and family; their property was given over to be pillaged by the english soldiers. — O'Malley escaped to France with very limited means to support himself, still such was his courage, that he could bear up with privations, hoping he should ere long be ordered to embark in another, and a better expedition than Humbert's, to give freedom to his unfortunate country.

WILLIAM BARKER. — Lieutenant at the formation of the irish legion, the 7th december 1803. Captain, the 22d of march 1804. Mr Barker's honourable services previous to the french revolution, as an officer of the irish brigade, Walsh's regiment and those he had in Ireland in 1798, not fighting in the english ranks like the emigrants, but for the independence of his country, should have entitled him to the highest rank granted at the organization of the irish legion, but he was satisfied to have obtained the rank which enabled him to make part of the expedition destined to give freedom to his native land. — During the siege of Flushing in august 1809, the night before the capitulation was signed with the english, commandant Lawless had the precaution to procure a boat and have captain Barker with several other wounded officers,

sent across to the french coast; thus he escaped once more his cruel enemies. — Mr Barker's health began to decline during his campaigns, suffering from his wounds, and lastly the terrible Walcheren fever completely impaired it. Being with the regiment in 1811 at Bois-le-Duc in Holland, he there terminated his weary and honourable career, regretted much by his comrades and friends. — Never was there a more generous, or a better man than William Barker. —

A great deal might be said about the heroic fortitude of the irish women who had to accompany their proscribed husbands, and seek a refuge on the continent, and exile themselves for ever from the land of their birth. Mrs Barker, after the battle of Vinegar hill on the 21st june 1798, had to abandon her house and handsome establishment at Enniscorthy, and escape with her husband, who had his arm amputated the same day, carrying with her a little son, a year old. — What must have been her anxiety at that awful moment, knowing that torture and death awaited her husband as one of the chiefs who commanded at the battle! It is only the love and courage of a wife and a mother that can afford support under such trials. They fled from place to place for weeks, hiding to escape the blood hounds that were daily in search of poor Mrs Barker and her charges. She however baffled them all. — A vessel was procured, which brought her safe to Hamburg with her husband and child.

VALENTINE DERRY. — Lieutenant, the 7th december 1803. Captain, 22d march 1804. — Mr Derry seeing no prospect of an expedition for Ireland (the army that had been assembled at Brest under the command of marshal Augereau, ready to embark, being ordered away to the campaign of Austerlitz), he gave in his resignation and went to reside at New York in the United States, where he established an academy.

Mr Derry took an active part in the politics of his country in 1798. He was the brother of the catholic bishop of the county of Down ; he was highly educated and a good french scholar, and when he escaped to France, he was appointed one of the professors at the college of La Flèche. — Derry was the friend of Father Quigly, and when that unfortunate clergyman was tried and condemned at Maidstone in Kent, Derry had the courage to stay by him to his last moments on the scaffold; then he fled and abandoned his friends and home for ever.

WILLIAM DOWDALL. — Sub-lieutenant in december 1803. Lieutenant, january 1804; captain, 22d march 1804. — Mortally wounded at the siege of Flushing in august 1809 he died of his wounds in the hospital at Ghent. Dowdall took an active part with Arthur O Connor in publishing the famous newspaper « the Press » in 1797 and 1798. — He was arrested and suffered a long imprisonment at Dublin, and at fort George in Scotland, till the peace of Amiens in 1802, when he was liberated and allowed to

return to Ireland. Implicated in the unlucky attempt of poor Robert Emmett in july 1803, he escaped to Cadiz where he received his commission to join the irish legion at Morlaix in Britany. — William Dowdall was well looking, well informed and active; he was doing the functions of captain adjutant major in his battalion in the sortie it made against the english army before Flushing, when he received his death wound.

PATT MAC CANN. — Lieutenant, 7th december 1803; captain the 22d of march 1804. Wounded at the siege of Flushing in august 1809, he died in the hospital at Ghent, after the amputation of his arm. His poor wife was with him at the time; she died the month after at Brussels, leaving a little girl ten years of age, unprovided for. — Mac Cann was in business at Dublin, when he was arrested and thrown into prison till the peace of Amiens 1802, when he was liberated on condition of expatriating himself for ever. He was residing at Bordeaux when he received his commission or orders to repair to Morlaix. He was well informed, and most gentlemanly in his manners, and much esteemed by all his brother officers.

PATT BRANGHAN. — Captain in april 1804. He made the campaigns and sieges with the irish regiment in Spain and Portugal till the autumn of 1811, when from the effects of a wound, his health began to decline; he died at Bejar, a small town in Estramadura, Spain.

Poor Branghan had to abandon his wife and children and escape to Bordeaux after the failure of the attempt in Dublin, july 1803. His courage could not be surpassed. He gloried in being in dangerous situations; he never despaired of seeing his country one day independent, and for the accomplishment of that great end, there was no peril to which he would not cheerfully expose himself. He was a good irish patriot, — always ready to sacrifice his all for the good of his native land.

THOMAS MARKEY. — Lieutenant at the formation of the irish Legion the 7th of december 1803. Captain in april 1804. — Captain aide-de-camp to the minister of war, the duke of Feltre, 1810. — Chef de bataillon, aide-de-camp, 1812. — Gros major, or lieutenant-colonel commanding the depot of a french regiment at Brest in 1814. Put on half pay, 1815; re-employed in 1823, and again on half pay after the spanish campaign till 1833, when he obtained the maximum, full pension of retreat. — Decorated with the cross of chevalier of the Legion of honour, and with the cross of Saint-Louis. — Markey retired to Fontainebleau, where he ended his days peacefully on the 6th of april 1854 at the advanced age of 84 years.

Few irish patriots suffered more than Thomas Markey. At Drogheda in 1798 he was tried by a court martial and condemned to death; he was on the point of being executed, when a respite came, and his punishment was then commuted to transportation for life. He was bound

with chains, thrown on board the convict ship in Howth Harbour, where he suffered all kinds of indignities for several months; he was removed to Kilmainham jail, and became the fellow prisoner of Emmett, Arthur O'Connor, Mac Neven, Hugh Ware, etc. At the peace of Amiens in 1802 he was allowed to expatriate himself for ever. He went to reside at Bordeaux, where he met general Napper Tandy, with whom he would form many schemes for the independence of Ireland. — Tandy died in 1803 and bequeathed to Markey his sword of honour, which the latter prized as the greatest gift that could be bestowed on him. — Markey was handsome and graceful, middle sized; he was witty in conversation, with the manners of a highly well bred man in society. He was extremely hospitable, and did the honours of his table like a true Irishman.

PATT GALLAGHER. — Lieutenant the 7th december 1803. Captain, 22d march 1804. — The expedition to Ireland not taking place, he went to reside at Bordeaux with his wife and children. Patt Gallagher was one of the brave and faithful men who often, at the risk of their lives, guarded and escorted poor lord Edward Fitzgerald through the streets of Dublin in 1798. He escaped to Paris the same year, and there he met many of his former friends.

JAMES JOSEPH MAC DONALD. — Captain in 1803. He re-

signed and went to Cadiz in 1805. He was one of the irish gentlemen of influence who first joined general Humbert at Killalo in august 1798, and the commander in chief of the small french army appointed him « general » to command the irish insurgents. He could not have chosen a braver, or a more honourable man than Macdonald. He was a barrister, and a man of very distinguished manners.

GRÉGOIRE. — A french man. Captain and quartermaster of the irish Legion. He was taken prisoner by the english army at the capitulation of Flushing in august 1809, and returned to France after the peace of 1814.

PATRICK SAINT-LEGER. — Surgeon-major to the irish Legion at its formation the 7th december 1803. Knowing well his profession, he rendered great service for several years, 'till he fell a victim to the Walcheren fever in 1809. Young Saint-Leger made the best studies possible at Paris, under the guidance of his able father Dr Saint-Leger; he was of great use to the irish officers on account of his perfect knowledge of french, english and german — Besides this, he was the best of comrades.

JOHN GIBBONS. — Lieutenant, 7th december 1803. His health was impaired by his long and severe sufferings, hiding in the Mayo mountains after general Humbert's capitulation, and before he could escape to France. This,

with the loss of his property, he could not bear up against, and died at Antwerp 1807.

PAUL MURRAY. — Sub-lieutenant, 7th december 1803, lieutenant, 22d march 1804, captain in 1809. Murray made the campaigns and sieges with the irish regiment in Spain and Portugal with distinction in the years 1809, 10, and 11. He retired on a small pension in 1814. In the hundred days in 1815 he was re-employed and joined the irish regiment at Montreuil-sur-Mer. He remained with it till it was disbanded in september 1815. He then retired to Dunkirk, where he ended his long career in 1853. — Paul Murray took an active, spirited and honourable part in the insurrection in Ireland in 1798, for which he had to abandon his friends and country. — No officer was ever better liked by his comrades than Murray; he was truth and honour in every transaction through life.

MILES BYRNE. — Sous-lieutenant at the formation of the irish Legion, 7th december 1803. Lieutenant, 22d march 1804. Captain, 16 december 1808. Chef de bataillon, 4th september 1830. — « Titres et décorations. » — Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, le 18 juin 1813. Chevalie de l'ordre royal et militaire de Saint-Louis, le 23 mai 1825. Officier de la Legion d'honneur, 13 novembre 1832. — Naturalisé français le 20 août 1817, par lettres de déclaration de naturalité du même jour. 33 year's service,

17 campaigns, those in Ireland comprised. Extracts from the registers of the 56th regiment of the line, the last in which Miles Byrne had served; signed by the members of the council of administration of the 56th regiment of the line at Courbevoie, the 6th june 1835. All taken from the war office, which classes as campaigns, the « insurrection d'Irlande » 1798 et sa présence aux diverses armées françaises en Hollande, Espagne, Portugal, Allemagne, Morée, etc.

The following circumstances impeded the advancement of M. Byrne. — He being with his regiment in garrison at Antwerp, when that town was besieged in 1814, and the communication intercepted with the war office at Paris, he was prevented receiving his brevet of chef de bataillon. Captain O'Reilly who happened to be at Paris, got his commission; they were proposed the same day for that rank, on the field of battle at Goldberg in Silesia the 23d of august 1813. Then the changes and-re-organization of the army after the restoration of the Bourbons caused more delay, though the minister of war, marshal Soult, endeavoured to repair the injustice, by his letter of the 13th of february 1815 to M. Byrne, promising that the first place vacant in any of the four foreign regiments should be for him; but the hundred days, and the second restoration finally put an end to further hopes. In september 1815 the irish regiment was disbanded; the officers were placed on half pay, and whilst in that situation, could not obtain promotion. Notwithstanding

M. Byrne was a naturalized frenchman, and tho' he had friends in the war office, he could not get employed before 1828. Thus his military career was stopped for more than twelve years. After the revolution of 1830 he ascertained that it was to the english influence with Charles the tenth's government, to prevent certain irish officers from being employed, amongst whom he had the honour of being comprised, that he owed his failure in his long military career.

PATRICK POWEL. — Lieutenant, the 7th of december 1803. — Retired on reformed pay in 1808. Powell was one of the first to join general Humbert at Killalo in august 1798, and after long hiding in the mountains he escaped to France.

EDMUND SAINT-LEGER. — Sous-lieutenant, the 7th december 1803. Lieutenant, 22d march 1804. Captain, 16th december 1808. Chef de bataillon du corps royal d'état-major, 1826; decorated with the cross of chevalier de la Légion d'honneur, the 18th of june 1813. Chevalier de Saint-Louis, 1824. — Saint-Leger served with the greatest distinction in all the campaigns with the irish regiment in Spain and Germany till 1814, when he was appointed captain on the staff of general Maison, who had the command of the first corps of the french army then making head against the allies marching on Paris. — After the restoration of the Bourbons, general Maison

commanded the military division at Paris, and Saint-Leger continued to be one of his confidential staff officers, and he was on the point of obtaining the promotion he had so well merited, when Napoleon landing, drove king and ministers away. He however remained at his post, and did not think of « deserting to Ghent. » Had he remained in Paris after the loss of the battle of Waterloo, there was no kind of favour that would not have been offered to him; but no, the brave Saint-Leger had true irish blood in his veins, he could not wait to witness the triumphant entrance of Wellington and Blucher, he preferred marching with the army of the Loire and sharing in all its misfortunes and humiliations after the second restoration of the Bourbons, rather than lend himself to such time-serving baseness. His honourable conduct on that memorable occasion could not be pardoned by the ruling party. — Poor Saint-Leger died at Paris in 1831, but he did not enjoy any of the happy results of the revolution of july 1830.

TERENCE O'REILLY.—Lieutenant, january 1804. Captain, 1810. Chef de bataillon, march 1814. Decorated with the cross of chevalier de la Legion d'honneur in 1809, after the siege of Flushing, where he, with commandant Lawless, saved the eagle of the irish regiment, and escaped from the english to Antwerp. — O'Reilly commanded a company of voltigeurs of the irish regiment at the battles of Wurschen in Saxony and Goldberg in Si-

lesia ; and afterwards a grenadiers company, with bravery and distinction. In the hundred days, he was attached to the staff of general . . . . . , and after the battle of Waterloo, and the second restoration, he retired on half pay to the town of Evreux, where he finished his days quietly. — O'Reilly was a well informed officer and a good comrade.

AUSTEN GIBBONS. — Lieutenant at the formation of the Legion, the 7th december 1803. He retired on reform pay in 1806. — Gibbons left Ireland after general Humbert capitulated in 1798. He was bred to the sea, and had commanded merchant ships.

THOMAS REED. — Lieutenant, 7th december 1803. He retired on reform pay in 1806. — Reed took an active part in the politics of the north of Ireland, for which he had to abandon his home and escape to France in 1798. Fortunately for him, he brought with him a small sum of money, the interest of which sufficed for his frugal habits of living. — He was more than fifty years of age.

JOHN ALLEN. — Sous-lieutenant in december 1803. Lieutenant, 22d march 1804. Captain, the 16th december 1808. Chef de bataillon, march 1814. Decorated with the cross of chevalier de la Légion d'honneur after the siege of Astorga, april 1810. — He retired on half pay, after the

irish regiment was disbanded in september 1815, to the town of Tours, where he spent several years, and afterwards to Caen in Normandy, where he terminated his honourable career on the 10th of february 1855.

Allen's brilliant services are often mentioned in the narrative of the campaigns of the irish officers, though not so often as they might have been; for in every instance he shewed himself a man of the greatest energy of character, of the most undaunted bravery and of the highest principles of honour. His political career was equally honourable, for no irish patriot ever detested their english task masters more than he did, nor was ever more ready to sacrifice life, and all that is dear to man, to shake off their oppressive yoke. — Allen's imprisonment in the Tower of London, his trial at Maidstone along with Arthur O'Connor, 1798, and his escape from Dublin in 1803 after the unlucky attempt of the ever-to-be-lamented Robert Emmett, cannot be forgotten if the history of Ireland, of that melancholy period, be ever published.

JOHN CUMMINS. — Sous-lieutenant in december 1803. Lieutenant, 22d march 1804. Retired on reformed pay in 1806. — Cummins had been one of the state prisoners in Dublin, who was allowed to expatriate himself in 1802. He went to reside at Cadix, from whence he came to join the irish legion at Morlaix in 1803.

J. MORISON. — Lieutenant at the formation of the legion in december 1803. — Died at Flushings in 1808. His health was broken down from his various sufferings and many wounds. — He came to France in 1796, and volunteered as a private soldier in a french regiment of the line, with which he made several campaigns in Italy, and was raised to the rank of sous-lieutenant; wounded at the battle of Marengo, he remained a long time in the hospital before he recovered. — He was a brave soldier, and simple as a child in his manners.

JOHN MAC HENRY.— Lieutenant, 7th december 1803. He died at the hospital of Landernau, 1805, of an operation in his knee. He was one of those brave northern patriots who had to abandon their homes in 1797.

Having mentioned some of the distinguished men who studied at the irish college, I shall relate all I knew about that excellent establishment. When I came to Paris it was struggling and beginning to recover from the effects of the Revolution.

The property purchased in France by the irish families at home, whether in the funds or in land, for the support of the seminaries abroad, to educate the unfortunate catholic children who were deprived of this blessing in their native land, was greatly diminished, as was all such founded properties at that period. — The Concordat made by the First Consul with Rome, had the best effect

on the station held by the irish college; for from being a mere boarding shool under the name of « Le cheval vert, » (or green horse), it ultimately resumed the title of a college. When I came to Paris in 1803, a Mr Mac Dermot conducted the school of the « cheval vert, » no doubt with great order. He had a handsome country house and park and a good deal of land at Montrouge. — I recollect being invited out there with some of my comrades in 1814 to breakfast with Thomas Burgess, who lodged in the mansion till Mac Dermot's executors had the whole concern sold to the society of Jesuits, who built there their college on a great scale.

The uniting the property and revenues of the different seminaries in France with that of the irish college at Paris, at first met with considerable difficulty, and it was only in 1806 that the venerable and worthy abbé Walsh, then the superior of the irish college, obtained from the emperor Napoleon the following decree, which finally settled the matter.

Napoleone Magno, Francorum Imperatore, rege Italiae, exiit decretum his conceptum verbis :

« La réunion en un seul et même établissement des « diverses institutions d'hommes fondées en France et « dans les pays réunis à son territoire, en faveur des ca- « tholiques Irlandais, Anglais et Ecossais,... est défini- « vement confirmée. »

Hoc marmor grati animi testem ovans posuit Mr Walsh, admtor genlis.

Kal. Marth MDCCCVI.

Then the revenues or rents of the seminaries of Bordeaux, Nantes, Douai, Louvain and the Scotch and English at Paris were received by the administration of the irish college, rue des Irlandais at Paris. — Abbé Walsh was the superior, and he was well seconded by the abbé Mac Nalty, the econome or steward and manager of the establishment. The Irishmen's sons who got bourses in the college at this period, were sure to receive an excellent education, as the masters and professors were men of erudition, and high learning; besides, the irish students had the advantage of following the high classes at the Lycée Napoléon, « Henri IV, » then in high repute, for its able professors, and its being adjacent to the irish college proved a great advantage to the sons of the exiles of Erin. I well recollect many of the fine fellows who were educated there : the Mac Mahons, Mac Cannas, Mac Sheehys, Delanys, Blackwells, Saint-Legers, Swantons, Walls, O'Briens, Barkers, Corbets, Glashens, O'Morins, O'Mara's, Smiths, etc.

The irish college continued to be much favoured by the government, and it's superior, abbé Walsh, was much liked and esteemed by the students and their parents. — When I passed through Paris in 1812, I visited young

Barker and others at the irish college; they told me they were well fed and well taken care of. — All was going on well, till the disasters brought upon France by the invasion of foreign armies in 1814. Then the college, after the restoration of the Bourbons, had to undergo many changes, like all such establishments. The irish catholic Bishops claiming the right to appoint the superior of the college, the professors, etc., in short, to resume the power they had previous to the revolution, all of which they readily obtained. A parish priest in the neighbourhood of Dublin, Father Long, was sent by the irish catholic Bishops to preside over the college as superior and administrator. But the landing of Napoleon from the isle of Elba in march 1815, and the retreat of the Bourbons from France, threw Father Long and the Bishops completely out of power.

An Irishman by birth, Mr Ferris, who had been in orders in France, and who had made the campaigns in the army of Condé with distinction, as captain quarter master, when allowed to return to Paris, had studied law and soon became well known to the emperor's government. He obtained the situation of superior of the irish college in the Hundred Days, till the loss of the battle of Waterloo brought back Father Long to resume his functions at the head of the irish college, with more influence than he enjoyed the first time; having through the primate of Ireland, doctor Curtis, obtained the patronage of the duke of Wellington. — Encouraged no doubt by this mighty

man, the irish catholic Bishops endeavoured to get all the property belonging to irish seminaries in France transferred to Ireland, to be annexed to Maynooth college. — Mr Ferris on learning this, had a very able protest drawn up, and had it signed by the irish officers in the french service and had it printed and published. He proved, that to have the property transferred, would be a violation of the testators intentions, when they vested money in the french funds and in land, to be employed for the education of catholic children coming from Ireland. After great exertions on the part of Ferris, with the french government, shewing the bad policy of any compromise, the Bishops were obliged to renounce their scheme of having the property transferred from France to Ireland, and to content themselves as before with the privilege of sending from their respective dioceses those who had a right to bourses on the college.

It appeared strange to see the Bishops attempting such a transfer, before they had any hopes of catholic emancipation. To be sure it was one way of shewing their devotion to their task masters, to deprive the irish rebel and exile of the means of having his son well educated in France, in the event of another war between the two countries.

It was to be regretted that doctor Murray took such an active part in endeavouring to effect this transfer of the irish property. He should have known that the french

government could never consent to such a measure. — He seemed greatly distressed that general Lawless should have signed Ferris' paper, and he got the general's sisters to write to him on the subject. — I recollect waiting on Dr Murray in 1818 at the irish college, to leave him letters and a parcel from Ireland, and of meeting there doctor Curtis, then catholic primate of all Ireland, whom I knew in Spain in 1811 at Salamanca, as superior of the irish college there. He was much changed; from being a tall, portly man, he was quite bent and broken. It was said of him, that he had rendered great service to the duke of Wellington in Spain, and that he had gained for himself a reputation not quite in accordance with the dignity of an « irish » catholic clergyman.

Mr Ferris was rich and cared little about the emoluments of superior of the irish college. His ambition was, to shew to Father Long and the irish Bishops, that he had more influence with the french government than they had; and indeed he soon gave them a proof of it, by getting himself once more appointed superior of the college and having Father Long sent back to resume his duties as a parish priest in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

This time 1819, Mr Ferris though superior, was under the control of a « bureau gratuit, » or commission, named by the minister of public instruction, composed as follows, Hely d'Oyssel, councillor of state president; marshal Mac Donald, grand chancellor of the Legion of

honour; Lally Tolendal, a peer of France; lieutenant general count O'Mahony and doctor Mac Mahon physician to the irish college. — This bureau gratuit or commission, assembled once a week at Ferris' appartment, rue des Postes, where he was splendidly lodged in that part which belonged to the english college. — Poor Francis Plowden had at the same time a small apartment on the third storey in the same house, and was receiving from the irish college, as professor of english twelve hundred francs a year, tho' he gave no lessons. This sum of money was the principal means he had to support himself, though he had many rich relatives in England at that time, and he was often in very distressed circumstances, till his daughter miss Plowden came to live with him and took both him and his son-in-law, the earl of Dundonnell and his child, to reside at Bellevue, where Mr Plowden and lord Dundonnell died in 1830 and 1831. —

When the scotch and english had their seminaries separated from the irish college, their revenues being so small, they got a few bourses in the french colleges equal to the amount of their revenues.

The members of the bureau gratuit relied much on doctor Mac Mahon's information; as he had studied at the irish college, they were generally guided by his advice, and took their decisions accordingly. Ferris not always agreeing with the commission, had one day an altercation with the president Hely d'Oyssel. The latter having

made use of insulting language to him, Mr Ferris asked me to be his second along with a french officer, a friend of his; I could not refuse, although I thought it quite impossible for him to hold a pistol an instant in his hand, on account of the palsy with which he was afflicted. I therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from sending a message to Mr Hely d'Oyssel, mentioning the advantage the latter would have. — « Never mind, » he replied, « I shall rest my pistol on my left arm, and let my antagonist do the same. » He then gave me the challenge to read, calling on Mr Hely d'Oyssel to meet him in the morning, and that he should be accompanied by two friends who would arrange all matters, and fix the rendez-vous with his seconds.

This letter was written in the most gentlemanlike style, as indeed every letter Mr Ferris dictated was.

The answer to this challenge was in terms more insulting than the verbal insult which had caused it. Mr Hely d'Oyssel added, that if he could discover the addresses of the « spadassins » seconds, he would have them forthwith sent sixty leagues from Paris. Mr Ferris immediately wrote to him, that they were, count Mac Namara, deputy governor of the pages of his majesty Louis XVIII, — and lieutenant general count O'Mahony. He apprised these gentlemen of the use he had made of their names, rank, titles, etc., and told his antagonist that he dared not speak to them on the matter, and added, that a coward

who is afraid to fight, is always the most vindictive and dangerous as an enemy.

M. Ferris resigned his situation of superior to the irish college, and went to live in the rue des Filles du Calvaire and kept his carriage. He purchased a handsome country house and land near Soissons, where he ended his days peaceably many years after, 1828.

The abbé Carney, who was born in Ireland and had studied at the irish college in Paris, was appointed superior of it in 1822, to replace Mr Ferris, and he being on the most friendly terms with Dr Mac Mahon, as indeed he was with every one who knew him, for he was disinterested, amiable and obliging to his friends, the college became again well organized, and the minister of public instruction being satisfied that under the administration of abbé Carney, aided by Dr Mac Mahon, every thing would go on well, he therefore thought the bureau gratuit might cease its functions.

Abbé Carney got a worthy irish man, who had been a fellow student with him and Dr Mac Mahon to be appointed econome, or steward to the college. Mr Billy Walsh, though a layman had his apartment in the college; becoming old, he preferred that situation to that of professor of english, and from his knowledge of the way colleges dealt with the furnishors of provisions, he rendered

great service to the irish seminary, where he ended his days in 1827.

The abbé Carney was allied to one of the first families of France, the Castelbajacs, and one of the members of that family, lieutenant-general the marquis de Castelbajac felt the deepest gratitude to him for the services he had rendered to some of the females of his family during the days of terror of the Revolution; and indeed abbé Carney would often relate the sort of service he had performed. When the esplanade or Champ-de-Mars of the military school was ordered to be made by the population of Paris, both men and women went there to work, to dig and wheel the earth. Abbé Carney assisted the ladies of his acquaintance to perform their task, and thereby obtained for them in the evening, a civic card, signed by one of the representatives of the people, which at that critical period was one of the causes of saving them from persecution. By shewing this card to the patrols and frequent domicile inspectors, they escaped being arrested as suspected persons.

Abbé Carney was temperate, and cared little about what he had to eat or drink himself, tho' generous and hospitable to his guests, whom he used to entertain whilst at table, with many amusing anecdotes, as well as with good cheer; he was always gay and good humoured, never speaking harshly of any one. He was low

in stature, well-made, with a very agreeable, benevolent countenance, tho' not handsome. — He had very little to live on before he became superior of the irish college, and still with that little, he was ever endeavouring to be useful to his friends and countrymen. I met him one day, with rather a large parcel under his arm; he told me it was one of his pantaloons he was taking to a poor exile of Erin. He hoped it would fit him, for he was to present him at ten o'clock to a french family, where he expected to have him placed as tutor or preceptor.

Another day, when he was at the head of the college, I asked him if he knew a Mr Quin, a gentleman who had emigrated, and was now residing at Paris. « To be sure I do, » he replied « we were school fellows, comrades, « and great friends; he comes often to see me. » I then mentioned a young gentleman, a friend of mine in London, who wished to have an introduction to Mr Quin's son, the editor of the « New Times. » « Oh! you shall have it without delay. » And he immediately wrote a long letter to Mr Quin his friend, the father of the editor, and told me to go at once and hand it to him. Seeing it contained three close written pages, I read it with attention, but exclaimed : « Abbé Carney, how could you think of « me being the bearer of such a letter, so full of flat- « tering things about myself? » He took the letter from « me, saying : « It contains nothing that is not well « known; however, as it shocks your modesty, altho'

« letters of this nature are generally left open, I shall « seal mine. » On which he put the irish « Erin go bragh » in a mass of green wax.

Such was the kindness of his nature, that he never seemed happy but when occupied in rendering service to his friends. The reverend Dean Ryan being on his way to Rome in 1823, stopped a few days at the irish college with abbé Carney, who introduced him to his names' sake and country woman miss Ryan. This lady kept the great boarding school in the rue du Harley, faubourg Saint-Antoine. She was elderly and feeble, tho' still retaining her former vivacity. She felt highly flattered and honoured by Dean Ryan's visit, and invited him in the most pressing manner to make her house his hotel, when he should be returning from Rome. She shewed him his apartment, the chapel, etc. He at once accepted this kind invitation and availed himself of it shortly after, when he had terminated his mission at Rome, and he spent three weeks or a month, agreeably enough, rue du Harley, before returning to Ireland.

The year after, 1824, miss Ryan died, and named Dean Ryan her executor, leaving to him her splendid house and concerns rue du Harley, and fifteen thousand francs per annum, with large sums in the funds, which Dean Ryan was intrusted with, to be appropriated to the use of certain convents in Ireland. He came to Paris at once and took possession of his new acquisition, and I recollect being at a great dinner party he gave in the autumn,

1824, as a house warning on the occasion. We were more than thirty at table : William Murphy of Mount Merion, Mr Sarjeant and his sons, general Lynch, colonel de Montmorency Morris, councillor Mac Cabe, and his brothers, etc., etc. We spent a jovial evening, returning « quietly, » as irish men, half seas over, to our homes at midnight.

Poor abbé Carney did not long enjoy his situation as superior of the irish seminary. After a few days illness he died in 1825, much regretted by all who knew him. His funeral service was celebrated in the chapel of the college, where were assembled a great concourse of his coutrymen, with numbers of the french nobility; the Castelbacjacs family attended and were anxious to have the religious ceremony executed with all the pomp of the roman catholic church. Ladies were allowed to be present, in the gallery of the chapel, and a special permission was obtained to have him buried in the vault of the chapel, and after making three rounds of the college court yard, in the most solemn manner, the procession returned to the chapel, when the coffin was descended into the vault; and there the remains of the worthy abbé Carney lie, enclosed in a double coffin, a lead one inside.

The reverend Dean Ryan was proposed by some of the irish Bishops, to succeed abbé Carney, as superior of the

irish college. The grand master of the university and minister of public instruction, on their recommandation, appointed him superior of the irish college in 1825; abbé Langan, prefet of studies; abbé Lynch, econome or steward; the reverend Mr O'Higgins one of the professors, only remained a short time; he went to Rome, and when he returned to Ireland, was named Bishop of Ardagh.

Dean Ryan had very pleasing manners; he was well looking, amiable and hospitable. Still with all these qualities, and the purest intentions for the good of the college, he was unable to make things go on there as he desired. He however persevered during the year 1826, when the minister of public instruction thought it adviseable to have an irish clergyman who had studied in France, at the head of the administration of the irish seminary. — Father Magrath a parish priest of the county of Waterford, who had received his education when young, at the irish college, was appointed superior of it in 1827. — The reverend P. Mac Sweeny who was advantageously known as a professor at both Carlow and Maynooth colleges, was named prefet of studies, in the place of abbé Langan. — Things soon resumed a better aspect, and the worthy Dr Mac Mahon was delighted to meet once more his old friend and school fellow Father Magrath; the latter confided the management of the establishment at once to his prefet of studies, whom he knew had the

capacity and talents fit for the undertaking. One day I dined at the college with Father Magrath, in company with his countryman Mr Rivers; by their conversation I could plainly see that he longed to be back again in his parish, and very shortly after, he did return to resume his functions of parish priest. He had the satisfaction to see his prefet of studies, the reverend Dr Mac Sweeny appointed in his place, superior and administrator of the irish college. — This learned and distinguished clergyman governed it for a period of twenty two years, during which time by his judicious administration, he augmented the revenues, and purchased at Arcueil a country house and domain for the college, where the students went on thursdays, and in vacation time resided there day and night.

The minister of public instruction being well pleased with the judicious changes made in the administration of the irish college, by the reverend Dr Mac Sweeny, had him named knight of the Legion of honour, the 25th of april 1847. (See the « Annuaire de la Légion d'honneur, » page 464. — Chevaliers de la Légion d'honneur.)

In the month of june 1847 I met Dr Mac Sweeny at the waters of Vichy. He was suffering much from a rheumatic complaint. He hurried back to Paris, to have the young students prepared for the general examination, previous to the vacation. I asked him if he had not good

professors at the college, in whom he could confide; he replied he had; that ever since abbe O'Longhlan was named prefet of studies, he was quite sure all would be well conducted during his absence. I was truly glad to hear him speak in such high terms of the worthy abbé O'Longhlan for whom I had a sincere friendship.

Dr Mac Sweeny had the charge of the administration of the irish college in the most precarious and unsafe times for such places; viz : during the revolution of july 1830, and afterwards at the revolution of february 1848, and then during the cruel insurrection of june the same year, when such numbers were killed and wounded in the streets adjacent to the college, and intrenchments, barricades, etc , thrown up all round the premises, particularly at the end of the rue des Irlandais, leading into the rue des Postes. Still the college was respected by all parties; the insurgents at one time during the action, wished to make use of the windows, to fire out on the troops. They were however dissuaded from this plan, by abbé O'Longhlan and the professors telling them, a seminary should be neuter and sacred, etc.

Dr Mac Sweeny got over the crisis of the two revolutions and kept every thing safe for the advantage of the college; — the irish students going on tranquilly, as if nothing had occurred. —

In the month of december 1849, Dr Mac Sweeny feeling his health getting daily more impaired, asked permission to be allowed to retire. The minister requested him to remain at the head of the college till another superior was appointed. He then granted him a retiring pension of five thousand francs a year, the largest that ever was given to any one from the revenues of the irish establishment. It was a rare thing for a pension to be obtained, as it required long services. It required in the other administrations of the university, thirty years at least to have a right, and then the pensions, comparatively speaking, were very inferior to Dr Mac Sweeny's. The following is the decree inserted in the « Bulletin des lois, » nº 104, the 31st december 1849.

BULLETIN DES LOIS DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE FRANÇAISE.

Partie supplémentaire.

Nº 104.

Nº 2617. — Décret qui accorde une pension à M. l'abbé Mac Sweeny, administrateur des fondations irlandaises en France.

Du 31 Décembre 1849.

Le Président de la République,

Vu la demande formée par M. l'abbé Mac Sweeny, administrateur des fondations irlandaises en France, ten-

dant à obtenir une pension comme rémunération des services qu'il a rendus en cette qualité;

Vu l'article 10 de l'ordonnance du 17 décembre 1818, qui dispose que des pensions pourront être accordées aux administrateurs des fondations britanniques après trente ans de service effectif;

Considérant que M. l'abbé Mac Sweeny, quoique ne réunissant que vingt-deux années de service, a contracté des infirmités dans l'exercice de ses fonctions; que ces infirmités ont été constatées, et qu'elles ne lui permettent plus de rester chargé de la direction du collége irlandais de Paris;

Attendu, d'ailleurs, que cet administrateur a, par sa bonne gestion, augmenté d'une manière notable les revenus de l'établissement confié à ses soins, et qu'il est juste de reconnaître par une pension l'importance de ses services.

Sur le rapport du ministre de l'instruction publique et des cultes.

Décrète :

Art. 1er. Une pension annuelle et viagère de cinq mille francs, imputable sur la totalité des revenus des fondations irlandaises établies en France, est accordée à M. l'abbé Mac Sweeny, administrateur de ces fondations.

Art. 2. Cette pension commencera à courir du 1er janvier 1850; elle sera payable au commencement de chaque

trimestre, comme les dépenses du personnel du collége irlandais de Paris.

Art. 3. Le ministre de l'instruction publique et des cultes est chargé de l'exécution du présent décret.

Fait à l'Elysée-National, le 31 décembre 1849.

Signé : Louis-Napoléon BONAPARTE.

Le ministre de l'instruction publique et des cultes,

Signé : E. Parieu.

In 1850 the reverend doctor Miley was appointed superior of the irish seminary at Paris, and a french clergyman, l'abbé Cœur, was named at the same time, the administrator of the college, or seminary, with Dr Miley; each having his separate functions to perform.

Having given a relation of matters concerning the irish college at Paris in 1803, I must mention the great excitement and joy of the irish exiles there at that period, november 1803, when they heard of the march of general Augereau's corps of army from the frontiers of Spain, Bayonne, to be encamped near Brest, to be ready to embark for Ireland.

Mr Thomas Markey who was following the staff of general Augereau's army apprized his friends of its rapid

march from the spanish frontiers to the coast at Brest, where twenty five sails of the line with transport vessels sufficient to embark thirty thousand troops were lying in harbour.

Captain Murphy who had the rank of grand pilot to the french fleet at Brest, received orders to repair there without delay, to be at the disposition of the admiral commanding the fleet. All this indicated to us that an expedition on a great scale would soon sail for Ireland, and at the same time we knew that Thomas Addis Emmett and Arthur O'Connor had stipulated with the First Consul many things respecting Ireland, when a french army should be landed there; first it was to be considered as an auxiliary one, as the french army in the United States under general Rochambeau's was; then it should be guaranteed that in any treaty of peace between France and England, the independence of Ireland should be maintained, etc. Ten thousand troops with twenty thousand stand of arms, was all that the irish chiefs required to be landed, to accomplish their ends; and one day at Saint-Cloud, the First Consul said to Augereau in the presence of Arthur O'Connor: « general, remember, you « are to be with your army in Ireland, as general « Rochambeau was in America. You will receive and « execute the orders of the irish government, etc. » Mr Thiers, though not very impartial or explicit about the negociations carried on between the french government and the irish independent leaders, still allows that they

obtained terms from the french ministers, which the First Consul confirmed. In his « History of the Consulate and Empire, » vol. IV, page 467. M. Thiers says. « The « minister Decrès had conferred with the irish refugees, « who had already tried to separate their country from « England. They promised a general rising, in the event « of 18,000 french troops landing, with the materials of « war complete, and a great quantity of arms. They sti- « pulated also, as the price of their efforts, that France « should make no peace without exacting the indepen- « dence of Ireland. The First Consul consented to all « these demands, on condition that a body of twenty « thousand irish at least, should have joined the french « army, and fought along with it during the expédition. « The Irish were confident and full of promises, like all « emigrants. However, there were some amongst them « who gave no great hopes, who even promised no effec- « tive aid from the people. »

As I thought Mr Thiers could not produce any proof of his assertion against the willingness of the irish patriots to embrace every opportunity to shake off the english yoke, I wrote the following note to general O'Connor on the subject, in order that he might remonstrate with Mr Thiers on his false appreciation of the irish refugees in France.

Paris, 25th july 1845.

« Dear general,

« I have just been reading the fourth volume of Thiers' History of the Consulate, and I find a couple of pages respecting our intended expedition to Ireland in 1303, which in case you may not yet have received the book, I have copied off for your perusal.

« Yours : M. Byrne.

« Lieutenant-general,
« A. Condorcet O'Connor.
« Château de Bignon. »

The answer I got was very long — the principal points were as follows.

« My dear Byrne,

« I thank you for the extract you have sent me. I am just beginning my memoirs ; you may rest assured I will do my utmost to vindicate the men of 1796, 1797, 1798 and 1804, from all their detractors in France and in Ireland.

« Sincerely yours,

« A. Condorcet O'Cónnor.

« Au château de Bignon, 31st july 1845. »

The above few lines from general O'Connor, will suffice to shew how keenly he felt on Thiers' misstatement of the irish exiles in France.

In november 1803 Dr Mac Neven wishing to complete as much as possible the materials he was collecting for the history of the irish insurrection of 1798, before we received orders to march to the coast, used to have each of us in turn at his lodgings, rue de Bussy, to hear him read over what he had already written, to make corrections, and to furnish him with other notes, if we recollected any thing new, to illustrate what we had already given.

Hugh Ware, Parrot, and Mac Dermot on the county of Kildare insurrection; Fitzhenry, Paul Murray and I on the county of Wexford, and county of Wicklow battles and fighting. Councillor James Joseph Mac Donald, captain Murphy, O'Meally, the Gibbons, Father Gannon, Powel, etc., for the account of general Humbert's expedition, landing and capitulation.

Dr Mac Neven's time was so well regulated that he could get through a great deal of business in a short time. He lived near the medical college and attended the public lectures there, and though knowing hew ould soon have his commission as captain in the french army, or perhaps a higher rank, he did not neglect improving himself in his medical profession which he liked.

He liked walking, and whilst enjoying this bodily exercise, he would be continually asking questions and taking notes. — I recollect our last walk together at Paris; he appointed me to call on him one sunday morning early. We went first to the garden of plants, where he wanted to see one of the professors of botany, and when he had finished his business with this gentleman, we crossed over the river in a boat, where the bridge of Austerlitz was built some years later; then passed by the place where stood the famous Bastille, demolished in 1789.

Dr Mac Neven wanted to visit the country house of the jesuit Père-Lachaise, and to make some enquiries of the inmates. — Seeing me look with surprise, as we passed through this cemetery or burying ground (for it was the first time I had been there), at the way the coffins were piled one over another in a long deep trench about seven feet wide, and badly covered at the surface, he asked me how we buried our dead during the rebellion? I told him that altho' we could not procure coffins, at least we had them better covered than they were there, in that ditch before us. — I spoke to him of an eminent physician with whom he had been acquainted, Mr Barney Murray of Gorey. This gentleman, though more than eighty years of age, would ride to our camps to have every thing buried which he thought might cause infection, such as skins of animals, etc., and on account of this conduct, he was afterwards imprisoned as a rebel chief, and narrowly escaped being put to death. —

Dr Mac Neven observed that too much care could not be taken to prevent pestilence; that it was disgusting to see great churches in populous cities made burying grounds; that every time a vault was opened, a plague might be caused. « The Directory did well, he continued, to put an end to having churchyards burying grounds in Paris, and this high ground stands well for a cemetery, if there was more care taken to have the dead properly covered as you said, and it costs nothing to be buried in this open trench. However, separately a grave costs two pounds and is liable to be dug up again after five years. A grave of six feet by three, to purchase the ground for ever, costs more than twenty pounds; which would you prefer? — The two pounds one, provided the lease could to be renewed, I answered. » He laughed and we went on to look at one or two tombstones or monuments, the only ones then erected at Père-Lachaise.— Some twenty years later, it became a city of aristocratic monuments. In december 1824, I had the melancholy commission from poor Mrs Lawless, to purchase ground for two graves, one for her husband, general Lawless, who died on the 25th december 1824 and the other for herself, beside it, where she was buried the 25th of august 1854. — We left this city of the dead to walk to the hill of Montmartre, arriving there, the people were coming out of the church, when I said : « I fear we are not in time « for mass; but perhaps there will be another. » Dr Mac Neven then asked me how we did for mass in the insur-

rection. I told him we had to do without it, as all our chapels where mass were celebrated on sundays, had been burned by the Orangemen, and the priests all hiding, with the exception of Father Roche, Father Kearns and the two fathers Murphy, and these four brave martyrs had no means of celebrating mass, their vestments or sacerdotal garments being all destroyed. Father John Murphy had escaped to a wood, from whence he saw his chapel and dwelling house, burned to the ground, robes and every thing else he possessed. — Though these patriotic clergymen could not say mass, they preached openly and boldly and hourly, to our fighting men, the necessity of the strictest obedience to their chiefs and leaders, to avoid cruel reprisals and revenge, which could only tend to tarnish our just cause, and on no account ever to profane places of worship, no matter of what religious persuasion they belonged to; to observe respect to the female sex, etc. I remarked to Dr Mac Neven how punctually the orders of these priests were adhered to; that no protestant church was desecrated or burned, nor one instance of females being molested. « Well, » he said, « what a pity it is that their memories « should be calumniated by that vile bigot sir Richard « Musgrave. He being a prostitute for hire, nothing bet- « ter could be expected from an historian of his stamp. « So we will speak no more of lord Castlereagh's hire- « lings and tools. »

I have said this was the last day I walked with doc-

tor Mac Neven at Paris, and I may add, the last time we spoke of the affairs of Ireland of 1798 and 1803, as a few days after, appeared in the « Moniteur » the decree for the organization of the irish legion; our occupations became changed, and more important; to me the time spent with doctor Mac Neven I felt to have been useful to me in every stage of life; he gave me advice on almost every thing which might occur, and no one was more capable of giving wise council than he was; on temperance, in our way of living, dress, etc. — He said to me one day : « you seem to take care of your teeth; » dont shew them too much when » you laugh, not like a certain friend of ours. » I knew he meant captain Sweeny, who had the most beautiful teeth I ever saw. — Doctor Mac Neven was rather under the middle size, extremely well-made and strong, with a fine chest, broad shoulders, superb head and a manly expressive countenance. He was in every sense of the word a perfect gentleman, both by education and manners. His courage morally and physically was often tried ; indeed he was bravery itself; his acquirements would have soon prepared him to become one of the first statesmen Ireland could produce, had she had the good fortune to be free and independent.

I have read with interest some of doctor Mac Neven's works, such as his travels in Switzerland, pieces of irish history, published at New York in 1807, his letters on the state of Ireland, during the reign of O'Connell there and his controversy on many points with this agitator.

— It is evident doctor Mac Neven residing in a free country like America, would have published the materials he collected to write the history of Ireland during the period from 1795 down to 1804, had he thought it would have been productive of any good to his native land; the probable cause of his not publishing them was, that he scorned to be thought a mere book maker, or a money speculator, wishing to make out a livelihood.

Though one should avoid speaking of unmeaning quarrels and duels, still when they occur at the moment that the dearest interests of one's country are at stake, and tend to retard political advantages on the point of being obtained, it is due to truth and justice to mention them; therefore I must enter into some details respecting a duel which was thought would take place between doctor Mac Neven and general Arthur O'Connor, when the former resigned in august 1804 his commission of captain in the irish legion, to go and reside at New York in North America.

The legion was in garrison in the town of Carhaix, department of Finisterre, in the month of may 1804, when the First Consul Buonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French. The troops of the garrison, with the civil and military authorities were assembled in the place d'armes, the oath or « serment » was read, when all present raised their right hand, saying: « Je jure, » I swear. Then

one hundred cannon shots fired; illuminations at night finished this ceremony. Next day the mayor and his « adjoints » met at the municipality or town house, adjutant general Mac Sheehy and captain Thomas Corbet, in order to sign the procès-verbal, or report, to be forwarded to the home department and the war minister at Paris, of the unanimous manner the splendid ceremony terminated. — Captain Corbet being there as member of the council of administration to sign the procès-verbal, thought fit to remark that an officer did dot hold up his hand and swear, and he named captain Sweeny. —

General Mac Sheehy on returning to his house had the wickedness to send for captain Sweeny, and to tell him what Corbet had been saying of him at the municipality, on which Sweeny came to the field where all the officers were assembled for exercise. He asked Corbet if he had made use of such expressions. Corbet replied, he had no account to render to him of what took place at the municipality; on which Sweeny struck him such a blow on the face that Corbet fell to the ground, and I had to grasp Sweeny in my arms and pull him away being quite close to him at the time, or probabably he would have continued his attack. They were both immediately placed under forced arrest, with sentinels at their doors. — When marshal Augereau heard of this unfortunate dispute, he sent off from Brest the chief of the staff of his army general Donzeleau to make an enquiry about the affair; he was accompanied by general Arthur O'Connor.

The enquiry finished, the corps of irish officers, in their splendid full uniform, paid a visit to the generals before they set out for Brest. — General O'Connor made a speech in english, in which captain Mac Neven thought there were allusions to himself which the general would not have made, only for the difference of their military rank.

It was the first and only time that the irish officers of the legion paid a visit « en corps » to general O'Connor. As they were not under his orders in any manner, it was not required. He remained at Brest, attached to the staff of the army, whilst they were learning the artillery and infantry exercise in the towns adjacent to Brest.

At the end of july 1804 the irish legion was ordered from Carhaix to go to be in garrison at Lesneven, a smal town five leagues from Brest. A few days after its arrival there, the commander of it received a despatch from the general in chief marshal Augereau, informing him that the arrest of captains Corbet and Sweeny was raised, to apprize them of this decision, and to return to them their swords forthwith. Those officers chose seconds, went to the field and fought with pistols. Both were wounded. Captain Corbet died of his wound the same night; captain Sweeny had the ball extracted from his wound and he soon recovered. Captain Mac Neven was his second, and captain Ware was Corbet's.

Shortly after this unfortunate duel, captain Mac Neven sent in his resignation to the war minister Berthier,

and as soon as it was accepted, he wrote a challenge to general Arthur O'Connor then at Brest, in which he mentioned, that he would remain a month at Bordeaux before sailing for America, inviting him to fix a rendezvous, etc. He wrote two copies of this challenge, one of them for marshal Augereau, the other for general Donzeleau, chief of the staff of the army. Mac Neven wished that three officers of his comrades should read those letters, seal them, and put them into the post office box. — As I was one of the three officers, I feel I owe to my country to mention all these circumstances, of two men whose great sacrifices and imprisonment and long sufferings for the sake of freedom endeared them so much to the irish people. It is to be regretted that their personal animosity should have been made known so publicly to the french government, as it tended « not » to the advantage of the irish exiles who continued to serve in the french army at that period.

William James Mac Neven's commission of captain in the service of France, was dated 7th december 1803. He resigned in august 1804 to go to reside at New York, United-States of America. Died 1842 or 1843.

Arthur O'Connor's commission of general of division in the french service, was dated the 24th february 1804. He received the full appointments or pay of a general disponible, not in command, till 1815, when he got a re-

tiring pension of six thousand francs a year, which he enjoyed until his death on the 25th of april 1852.

At the end of november 1803 our excitement was greater than ever, thinking of scarcely any thing except the study of military tactics, and expecting hourly to receive our brevets.

I had bought when I arrived at Paris, the reglement, or ordonnance on the exercise and manœuvres of infantry, and I began to know tolerably well the theory; and as I had had some practice in Ireland in fighting against regular troops, I felt satisfied I could make my way like other officers.

At length the First Consul's decree appeared to have an irish legion in the service of France organized, to be composed of infantry regiments, with artillery and cavalry attached to it. This legion was to be completed on landing in Ireland, to twenty five thousand men.

Our commissions or brevets of officers in the service of France, were dated the 7th of december 1803, and on receiving them, we had orders to march to Morlaix. We were to go by regular etapes or day's marches, or if we wished we might take the coaches, and the distance being 148 leagues, we had twenty one days to make the journey. — Hugh Ware and I decided to make it on foot, as we should be the better prepared for campaigning after

such a long march in winter. — Those officers who had money to pay their places in the coach, could spend fifteen days more with their friends at Paris, and arrive at Morlaix the day fixed by the « feuille de route, » or military order of march.

One day Mr Thomas Addis Emmett read me a letter he had just received (at Paris) from William Dowdall, stating, that he, and John Allen, and a young man of the name of Sandy Devereux, had escaped safely to Cadiz, after many risks and perils. He asked me questions about Devereux. « As to Allen and Dowdall » he said « I « known them sufficiently myself, to answer for them. » I told him that Devereux was one of our hurling associates at Donnybrook Green; that he was from the county of Wexford and employed in the mercantile firm of Cornelius O'Loughlan and company in Dublin; that I did not think he was committed in our unfortunate affairs. — « No? but you see by this letter that he has acted a noble part. — »

Young Devereux took out a passport for himself to go to transact business at Cadiz for his employers. He went and left this passport with Allen and Dowdall where they were hiding, that they might endeavour to make out others for themselves, and to imitate it as nearly as possible. He requested them to have a similar one to theirs made for him, as he would destroy the original passport, lest it might be the means of discovering the false ones,

and that he would take his chance with them through thick and thin. —

A Mr Cummings who had been one of the state prisoners in Dublin, when he was allowed to expatriate himself, went to Cadiz to practice there as a physician. He wrote to Mr Emmett to pray him to obtain for him a commission in the irish regiment in order that he might be of the expedition destined for Ireland.

A Mr O'Kelly an officer of one of the irish regiments in the spanish service being at Cadiz when Allen and Dowdall arrived there, wrote also to Mr Emmett that he wished to make part of the french army to be sent to obtain the independence of his native country.

Mr Emmett gave the names of these five gentlemen to the minister of war, recommending them as true irish patriots, and immediately commissions of sub lieutenants were sent to Cadiz for John Allen, William Dowdall, Sandy Devereux, doctor Cummings and O'Kelly, with orders for them to repair forthwith to Morlaix where the irish legion was assembled.

It being remarked that whilst many of the distinguished and meritorious irish patriots got only the rank of ensigns and lieutenants, others with very inferior claims, got that of « captain, » the highest rank then given, Mr Emmett remonstrated with the minister of war Berthier, who promised him that adjutant general Mac Sheehy charged with the organization of the legion, should

have precise instructions at Morlaix, to report to the war office on the subject, and that he might rest satisfied the injustice should be repaired, as soon as Mac Sheehy's report was received. Some of the injustice was remedied, though not for a month or two later. William Barker, Patt Mac Canna, Patt Gallagher, Valentine Derry, Augustin O'Meally, John Sweeny, Hugh Ware, and William Dowdall received their commissions as captains, and several sous-lieutenants received theirs of lieutenants at the same time.

Previous to our leaving Paris for the coast, a young man arrived from Dublin, Terence O'Reilly ; he was the bearer of a letter of introduction from a doctor Sheridan to doctor Mac Neven ; the latter had just time to present him to general Dalton, before quitting Paris for Morlaix, and as O'Reilly spoke french well, he got on better than others at the war office. He got his commission of lieutenant in the month of january 1804 and joined the irish legion at Morlaix. I am persuaded that he did not consider it a triumph to have obtained a higher rank, and to be placed over so many of his countrymen, such as the following, Paul Murray, Edmond Saint-Leger, Joseph Parrott, William Dowdall, John Allen, and many others, who had only the rank of sous-lieutenants at that time. However O'Reilly's advancement afterwards was slow indeed. It was only after the siege of Flushing in 1809, where he distinguished himself in the irish battalion

there, fighting against the English, that he was recompensed with the cross of the Legion of honour, and later he was named captain in the first battalion of the first irish regiment, then in garrison at Landau near the Rhine, in 1810. In the campaigns of 1813 and 14 O'Reilly served with distinction, and he had the good fortune to get his brevet of chef de bataillon before Napoleon's abdication in 1814. — After the Restoration of the Bourbons, and the battle of Waterloo, commandant O'Reilly retired to Evreux, where he finished his days.

I have often had to mention him in my notes on our campaigns, and I trust I may be excused now for this anticipation. I esteemed O'Reilly as a brave and an honourable officer, and I liked him as an obliging, good comrade, and I cannot forget, that he was one of those that expressed regret that I had not obtained my commission of Napoleon of superior officer before the downfall of Napoleon.

I have mentioned before in this narrative of having met irishmen in Paris, who had come from the United-States, as citizens of that great Republic. — One of them, Mr Harrison, was from the north of Ireland, and a friend of William Lawless and John Tennant of Belfast; and as I was a good deal with these gentlemen, I became acquainted with Mr Harrison, and I must say, I always found him very good-natured and obliging. Holding a high rank in the « mysteries » of Free Masonry, his french

acquaintance was considerable. Previous to the departure of his irish friends from Paris, to join the legion at Morlaix, Mr Harrison gave them a grand dinner, to which he invited also several of his french friends. I recollect when we were going from the drawing room into the dining room, Mr Harrison told his guests that one half of the table would be served with an irish dinner, and the other with a french one. The french gentlemen were placed at the irish half of the table, at the head of which sat Mr Harrison with Mr Thomas Addis Emmett on his right hand and a french councillor of state on his left. — John Tennant sat at the foot of the table. This end was to be served in the french way, and was occupied by the irish guests. Patt Gallagher seeing nothing but soup and some small « plats » of « hors d'œuvres, » and the other end covered with large joints and dishes such as hams, chickens, etc., exclaimed he hoped our friend Harrison was not going to make us dine on frogs, to shew off his wit. — This caused much laughter, and when explained to the french gentlemen, they entered into the joke and enjoyed it. Whenever a piece of game was served at our end, Mr Harrison would ask if the frogs were dressed to our liking. At the head of the room stood entwined a large green flag, with a golden harp in the center, « without » the crown and « Erin go bragh » (Ireland for ever written also in gold letters. The tri-coloured drapeau and the « star spangled banner » on each side of the green flag of Erin, had for us exiles a delightful effect; — we

felt happy and grateful to Harrison for his kind and generous entertainment,

After the Restoration of the Bourbons, when I resided at Paris on half pay, I was certain to meet Mr Harrison any day between twelve and two o'clock, at breakfast, or reading the newspapers, at the Café de la Rotonde, Palais-Royal. He had the reputation of knowing how to buy and to sell french stock, and liked to be thought rich. He had his oddities. He used frequently to go to fashionable places of resort, such as Epsom races and afterwards return cheerfully to Paris and resume his former way of living. He asked me one day to dine with him, and gave me a rendez-vous to meet him on the terrace of the Tuilleries garden at four o'clock. It was in winter, yet he said, he should like to take a little walk before dinner, to sharpen the appetite; we went outside the barrière de l'Etoile, there he went to the restaurant of the Veau qui tette; he saw the eatables on the kitchen table ready to be cooked; he ordered soup, filet de bœuf sauté, a roast fowl etc., to be prepared in an hour when we should return. After walking for half an hour on the avenue of Saint-Cloud we came back and found our table prepared in a room with a good fire. I certainly enjoyed not only the good fare, but the repose, for I had been more than two hours on my legs without resting. A tremendous storm and rain came on, so we were weather bound till nine at night, as there was no possibility of getting a coach When the rain ceased we walked through the mud to

the café de Minerve near the french theatre, and after taking two tumblers of brandy punch, we separated. Next day I saw him at his reception room, as he would call the café de la Rotonde, looking fresh and healthy. « Dont you think » he said, « I could have made cam- « paigns with you? » — « Yes, I replied » provided we « could bivouack every night as we did the last. » — He laughed heartily and was quite vain of having made, as he said, one campaign with me. He was always gay and good-humoured.

In the spring of 1828 Mr William Tennant of Belfast, the fellow prisoner and friend of Arthur O'Connor, and Thomas Addis Emmett, and the brother of commandant Tennant, with two of his daughters was stopping at Paris. I was invited one day to dinner by Mr Tennant, to meet Mr Harrison. The latter began a long story about some service he said I had rendered to Mr Tennant's nephew in 1826, when he was on his way to Greece, with a young man of the name of Emerson. I replied rather displeased, that it was no great service to go with him to buy his sword, pistols, etc. « Never mind « Mr Byrne « said Mr Tennant, « Robert wrote to me at « the time of the whole transaction. » — Harrison then asked me, with a great laugh, « if I had chosen Mr Emerson's « arms? » — I knew he was going to Greece as the correspondent of some english newspaper, and very likely as such, rendered service to the unfortunate Greeks, then fighting for their independence.

Mr Emerson married the youngest daughter of William Tennant and added this name to his own. He has since been a member of the House of Commons in London, and governor of the Island of Ceylon. —

I never was at a loss to learn something of the great men, and great doings going on in the north of Ireland, or in the United-States of America whilst Harrison lived.

One day walking with Mrs Byrne in the Champs-Elysées, we stopped to speak to him, when he exclaimed « you dont congratulate me, sir, on the nomination of « my cousin Harrison to the presidency of the United- « States! » — Poor Harrison! He died lonely indeed, at Paris, in a miserable lodging in the rue Montmartre. Altho' possessed of a good deal of property, he had neither friend, nor relation near him at the time. But such is the way old bachelors are doomed to end their days, when they become too secluded in their habits from their families. Harrison not liking female relatives to be about him, lest they might interfere with his eccentric manner of living, did not enjoy the comforts which from his wealth he was « entitled to. »

Not being encumbered with much luggage, my effects were soon packed up, and I had nothing to buy, for every article for the equipment of the officers had been sent to the depot of the irish legion at Morlaix. — Amongst

them, a quantity of superfine dark green cloth, sufficient for the uniforms of 150 officers; and as our master tailor had at his disposition all the tailors of Augereau's army, a short time would suffice to have them made up.

The officers were advised to have small portmanteaus, not weighing more than fourteen pounds, which they could easily carry under their arm, going on board the fleet at Brest, and also on landing on the coast of Ireland, when they would answer as pillows at the bivouac. I had one of this description already, which held my two shirts, stockings, slippers, etc. So I had not to buy a portmanteau. Having now all things settled ready to set out on my march, save to pay my farewell visits to those dear friends whom I soon expected to have the happiness of meeting in Ireland, (alas! my expectations were not realized!) my first visit was to Mr Thomas Addis Emmett and his amiable lady, his son Robert, with his two little sisters, one of them born in the prison of Dublin, and the other in that of fort George in Scotland.

Mr Emmett kindly enquired of me about my money matters, saying, that he had received another remittance of sixty pounds, from that generous, worthy, irish patriot, lord Cloncurry, to be distributed amongst the irish refugees who might stand in need of money. — I had to shew him a few half guineas, I had still remaining, to convince him that I had sufficient with my feuille de route money, to make the journey to Morlaix, and I told

him I owed nothing, etc. He opened a trunk to shew me two bags of silver, containing lord Cloncurry's remittance, and which he had just brought from the bankers.

Mr Emmett paid me some compliments on the saving way I had lived, and then we embraced and separated. Alas! for ever. His son Robert, about nine or ten years old was waiting in the outer room. He took the small cord or chain from his watch, and asked me to keep it for his sake; which I did carefully, until 1813, when my baggage fell into the hands of the enemy on the Bober.

Mrs Gallagher staying with Mrs Emmett I took leave of her also. — This lady was handsome and highly accomplished, and worthy of her patriotic husband. — I had the pleasure of dining with them at Bordeaux in 1812, when I was returning from Spain, and I was happy indeed to see them so prosperous; he was in the shipbroking trade, and he was carrying on a vast business with the Americans. Their children were grown up very handsome. Poor Gallagher's health was then delicate. — He died at Bordeaux the following year, much regretted by his country men and friends. — To his last moment, he spoke of lord Edward Fitzgerald with the greatest veneration.

My next visit was to Mr Hampden Evans and his family. His son young Hampden, and my fellow traveller

from Bordeaux, returned there, and married a young french lady. It was only some years after that he got a commission in the irish regiment. — I was then far from thinking that I should have at a later period, the honour of being so well acquainted with two of his sisters, Mary (Mrs Lawless), and Nancy (Mrs Putland.)

Miss Evans having married an officer, one of my friends and comrades, it was natural that I should be on good terms with her, on account of her husband, William Lawless, whose military career I had witnessed, but there were other reasons which made her a favourite with all the irish exiles. Having a good fortune, on returning to Ireland she would be sure of being well married there, but one of those exiles pleased her, she loved him secretly, he did not even suspect it, never having paid her more attention than he did to her sisters, and probably miss Evans' secret would never have been known to her family, but for the siege of Flushing by the english in august 1809. — At the news of this town being taken, the destruction of the irish battalion defending it, and its commander William Lawless being killed, etc., etc., Mary Evans fell sick, and for more than six weeks her life was despaired of, and nothing could cheer her.

Mrs Tone being in the habit of going to Mr Hampden Evans's house, and being on the most intimate terms with the young ladies his daughters, might have sus-

lected something of miss Evans' secret, but this secret was only divulged, when she heard the man she loved was no more. She then told her mother, saying, life to her was not now worth preserving, and wondering how Mrs Tone could have survived the death of her heroic husband : to be sure, she would add, her three children must be brought up worthy of such a father. Hearing continually every one who came to her father's house, speaking with admiration of the achievements of Theobald Wolfe Tone, and of the purity of his character, she gloried in the hope, and flattered herself, that the man she loved so dearly, would one day quite surpass him, when their country would be free.

When the news of commandant Lawless's miraculous escape from Flushing to Antwerp with the eagle and the colours of the regiment, arrived at Paris, Mr Evans begged his friend John Sweetman to come to the house, when his daughter would be allowed by the doctor to receive visits, in order to prepare her by degrees, to learn the joyful news, lest a sudden communication of it might be injurious to her : he also prayed Mr Sweetman to prevent commandant Lawless (in the event of his getting leave of absence to come to Paris) calling at his house before he had had an interview with him.

That evening at tea, Mr Sweetman, as usual, was asked the news of the day, miss Evans lying on the sofa, and listening to the conversation. He said, that it was reported in some of the newspapers that officers believed to

have been killed at Flushing had escaped to Antwerp, their names not being given. On the following day he was more explicit, and then the conversation was changed to some other topic. — The next evening Sweetman came to tell them that a lieutenant O'Reilly of the irish regiment was one of those who arrived at Antwerp. « Then » said miss Evans, « perhaps Mr Lawless is not dead. » The whole family expressed their opinion, that as he and lieutenant O'Reilly were great friends, they probably escaped together, and that it would be known next day at the war office.

Mr Sweetman promised to go there in the morning to enquire, and to call in the evening as usual, when he hoped to have good news to tell them. — Mr Lawless was already arrived, but very ill and confined to bed, not from the effects of his wound, now nearly well, but with an attack of the Flushing fever, when Mr Hampden Evans called to see him. — Their interview was of an affecting nature. He told Mr Lawless how his friends in Ireland were endeavouring to obtain him permission to return there with his family, and as his daughter Mary was attached to him, he consented to their marriage. Matters on this head were soon agreed to between them, and then miss Evans was allowed to read all the newspapers containing the orders of the day of the army at Antwerp, giving an account of commandant Lawless's arrival there, with the colours and eagle of the irish regiment;

of his brilliant conduct during the siege of Flushing, his miraculous escape from thence, etc., etc.

I was in Spain at this period. — After consulting my own notes and correspondence, besides a mass of letters put at my disposition by general Lawless's son and by our mutual friend Arthur Barker (these letters having belonged to their families), I find, that it was in the month of november 1809 that commandant Lawless arrived in Paris, after his escape from the Island of Walcheren, and I also find by these letters, that the emperor Napoleon was glad to receive one of those brave soldiers who at the head of his battalion fought so bravely against Pitt's brother, general lord Chatham with his thirty thousand seamen and forty thousand of the best land troops that England could produce, whilst he, Napoleon, was far away with his grand army at Wagram, etc. He was also greatly pleased that commandant Lawless had saved the eagle he had given to the regiment and that it had not fallen into the hands of the English, and he named him immediately knight of the Legion of honour, and lieutenant-colonel of the irish regiment, and the year after, full colonel of it, in place of Daniel O'Meara, put on half pay. The regiment being composed of four battalions and a depot, was in garrison. The first battalion in the Island of Gorée, Tennant commandant. The second battalion at Berg-op-Zoom, Dillon commandant. The 3d battalion at Wilhemstadt on the Meuse, Ware commandant. The fourth battalion at Bois-le-Duc,

Hayne chief of it. The depot in the same town, J. J. Mahony major of it. The above were the stations of the battalions when I arrived from Spain at Bois-le-Duc in march 1812, and there I met Mrs Lawless for the first time after her marriage; eight years and four months having intervened since I saw her at Paris in december 1803.

At general Lawless's death on the 25th december 1824, Mrs Lawless purchased ground at Père-la-Chaise, for two graves beside each other, with a double head stone. One was inscribed to general Lawless, the other was unlettered, and could be so seen down to 1854. — The following article is from the « Nation » newspaper, Dublin 2d september 1854. « Mrs Lawless, widow of general Lawless, of the irish legion, died at her residence in Paris, rue de la Ferme des Mathurins, on wednesday night, the 23d august 1854. Mrs Lawless was born in Ireland, but was early in life an exile from her native land, with her father, Hampden Evans esq. of Portran, the friend of lord Edward Fitzgerald and of Thomas Addis Emmett, and one of the distinguished band of irish patriots of 1798, who devoted life and fortune to the independence of Ireland. Mrs Lawless was worthy of her illustrious husband and father, possessing a very sound understanding, and being ever actuated by the purest and the noblest sentiments. Throughout life she shewed the most tender and affectionate nature towards her husband and children, and to all connected with her. »

Mr Hampden Evans' two other daughters were married after they returned to Ireland. Nancy, to Mr George Putland, a worthy gentleman, with a large fortune. — Their Dublin residence in Lower Mount street, soon became well known for the charitable fancy balls and other splendid entertainments given there, as well as for the annual distribution of articles of cloathing and covering for the poor. — At their country mansion of Bray, their benevolence and bounty was still greater : the widows and orphans of the unfortunate men lost at sea, and belonging to that neighbourhood, were sure to get pensions from Mrs Putland. Indeed this amiable lady identified herself with every liberal and generous manifestation for the good of her native land.

After the Restoration of the Bourbons, she and her husband came to France to visit her sister and general Lawless at their country house near Tours, and for many years Mr and Mrs Putland were in the habit of spending the winter at Paris, when general Lawless and his family came also there to be near them. — I was living then at Paris, on half pay, and I found it very agreeable to meet these amiable families, as well as many of my old comrades and friends, whom I was sure to see at their houses. -- Mrs Putland gave very splendid entertainments and saw some of the best french society, as well as distinguished persons of other nations. — Paris being then so much frequented by foreigners of the highest station, Mrs Putland's hotel, place Vendôme, became one of those

greatly considered on account of the guests received; such as, Lafayette, lord Cloncurry, and the patriots of their stamp of every other country.

In 1822 a young and valued friend of mine, doctor Halliday, went with Mr and Mrs Putland as their physician to Rome, and a tour on the continent, and through this gentleman I learned many acts of their generous bounty, and their sympathy for the persecuted patriots, wherever they passed.

I shall mention one circumstance which will shew Mrs Putland's warm irish, patriotic feelings. Knowing that she was well acquainted with general Lafayette's family, and that Mr Gustave de Beaumont, son-in-law to Mr George Lafayette had just published his work on Ireland in 1839, in which I observed the omission of the names of the principal protestant and catholic leaders, martyrs, during our struggles in 1798, I asked Mrs Putland to be kind enough to shew Mr de Beaumont some notes, I had felt it my duty to make on his book, on account of the incorrect information he had received in Ireland: she readily took charge of my notes for M. de Beaumont and accompanied them with a letter from herself in which she expressed to him her regret that he had omitted her father's name amongst the patriots of 1798. This letter shewed her fine feelings, and how worthy she was of being the daughter of Hampden Evans.

Mrs Putland gave a large dinner party at her hotel, place Vendôme, to which Mrs Byrne and I were invited, to meet monsieur and madame de Beaumont and to whom Mrs Putland introduced us. — I must say I was quite satisfied and pleased with M. de Beaumont's frank manner, telling me at once that he thought I ought to publish any thing I found not correct in his book on Ireland, etc. — I had agreed in consequence with a printer to publish a certain number of copies of my notes, when I saw Mr de Beaumont's name as one of the candidates to be a member of the french academy; and as one of his claims to this honour was, his recent « admirable work » — « L'Irlande sociale politique et religieuse. » — I felt it was not the time to publish any criticism upon it. Besides, he was the first french gentleman of station who for a long time, had written on the sufferings of Ireland under her task masters, in such bold, eloquent language.

I will here give a copy of Mrs Putland's letter, and my notes on M. de Beaumont's book.

Paris, le 6 février 1840.

« Ma chère dame,

« Un grand admirateur de monsieur de Beaumont, le colonel Byrne, ayant appris qu'il préparait une nouvelle édition de son bel ouvrage sur l'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse, m'a prié de lui faire passer quelques obser-

vations que lui a suggérées la lecture d'un ouvrage d'un ordre tellement supérieur et plein de vérités. — Mais monsieur le colonel ayant pris part lui-même à la lutte entre le gouvernement anglais et la partie libérale de l'Irlande, a été à même de savoir bien des circonstances oubliées ou inconnues à ceux qui n'avaient pas les mêmes avantages, ou les mêmes intérêts à connaître la vérité. Moi, fille de Hampden Evans, qui, bien que protestant, a risqué sa vie et une belle position dans la cause de son pays, je n'aime pas à voir son nom oublié et sans l'honneur qu'un tel dévouement mérite.

« Je vous prie de croire à ma haute considération.

« Votre dévouée,

« A. D. PUTLAND. »

A madame de Beaumont.

TRANSLATION OF MRS PUTLAND'S LETTER TO MADAME DE BEAUMONT

« My dear Madame,

« A great admirer of monsieur de Beaumont, colonel Byrne, having learnt that he was preparing a new edition of his excellent work on the social, political and religious state of Ireland, has begged me to forward to him some observations which have occurred to him on read-

ing a work of so superior a style and so full of truth. — But colonel Byrne having himself borne a part in the struggle between the english government and the liberal party in Ireland, has been able to know well many circumstances forgotten, or unknown to those who had not the same advantages, or interest in knowing the truth. I, a daughter of Hampden Evans, who though a protestant, hasarded his life, and a high position in the cause of his country, do not like to see his name forgotten and without the honour that such devotion merits.

« I pray you to believe how sincerely.

« I am yours,

« A. D. PUTLAND. »

To madame de Beaumont.

NOTES ON M. DE BEAUMONT'S WORK « L'IRLANDE SOCIALE, POLITIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE. »

The increased importance which Ireland has of late years acquired in the politics of Europe, as well as the intrinsic merit of monsieur Gustave de Beaumont's most excellent work entitled « l'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse » has induced one deeply interested in the subject, to make the following observations on a few mistakes which M. de Beaumont has been led into. These

observations are not written from any desire to cavil at what M. de Beaumont has written in so good a spirit, but rather to aid him in diffusing a more general knowledge of the question amongst his countrymen, already so well inclined towards Ireland.

As the insurrection in Ireland in 1798 is connected with all that has occurred in that country since that period, a knowledge of many of the details is necessary, in order to understand the history of Ireland anterior to its union with Great Britain, as well as to understand its condition since that union took place.

M. de Beaumont does no justice to the many distinguished irish protestants who sacrificed their lives and fortunes in the cause of the independence of their country. To those not acquainted with the history of the insurrection of 1798, a perusal of his work would convey the idea that none but the poorest and most miserable peasantry of Ireland were engaged in the efforts made at that time to shake off the yoke of England; and also, that they, after calling in the aid of France, had shrunk from the danger, and had not dared to face the english forces when the moment came for the stand to be made. The facts are very different and well known to all those who have studied the history of Ireland during that period.

The colour given by Mr de Beaumont to this insurrec-

tion, representing it as a mere revolt of ignorant, wretched peasants, is not only erroneous, but if viewed in that manner, one cannot comprehend how lord Edward Fitzgerald, and Mr Wolfe Tone came to take a part in it, for M. de Beaumont cannot avoid mentioning these two illustrious patriots in making allusion to the insurrection.

The united irishmen who rose against the english government, had at their head a great number of enlightened men, both catholics and protestants, and of great wealth, who occupied a distinguished rank in society. Amongst many others I could cite, I shall confine myself to naming some of the most remarkable.

PROTESTANTS

Lord Edward Fitzgerald.
Arthur O'Connor.
Bagnell Harvey.
Cornelius Grogan.
Hampden Evans.
Tennant of Belfast.
Hamilton Rowan.
J. Russell.
W. Hamilton.
W. Corbett.
T. Corbett.
Thomas Addis Emmett.
Napper Tandy.
The two Shiers.
Sam Nelson.
Councillor Sampson.
Chambers.
Mat Dowling.
Captain Perry (Anthony).
Wolfe Tone.
Robert Grahame.
Captain Keogh.

PROTESTANTS AND PRESBYTERIAN MINISTERS

Edward Hudson.
Hugh Wilson.
Robert Hunter.
Sir Simon Butler, Bart.
John Russell.
Thomas Wright.
William Levington Webb.
William Hamilton.
Richard Kirwan.
Sir Deane Swift, Bart.
William Weir.
Thomas Bacon.
George Cumming.
Joseph Cuthbert.
Reverend W. Steele Dikson.
Doctor Drennan.
W. Putnam Mac Cabe.
Henry Haslett.
William Sinclair.
T. Sinclair.
Robert Mac Gee, M. D.
Israel Milliken.
Gilbert Mac Hirain.
Robert Byers.
S. Kennedy.
Robert Hunter.
Robert Orr.
Hugh Grimes.
William Kean.
James Burnside.
James Greer.
Rowley Osborn.
Mac Turner.
William Sims.
John Robb.
James Hope.
Reverend Steele Dickson.
Reverend William Porter.
Reverend Mr Barber.
Reverend Mr Mahon.
Reverend Mr Birch.
Reverend Mr Ward.
Reverend Mr Smith.
Reverend Mr Stevelly.
Reverend Mr Mac Neill.
Reverend Mr Simpson.

PROTESTANTS

John Colclough.
Reverend Mr Jackson.
Henry Munroe.
Arthur Mac Mahon.
D. B. Warden.
Oliver Bond.

Teeling.
Sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart.
Henry Hughes.
Nicholas Gray.
William Young.
Mac Cracken.
Robert Simms.
Reverend William Sinclair.
Doctor Mac Donnell.
John Tennant.
Mr Lowry.
Doctor Dickson of Portaferry.
Reverend Mr Porter.
Reverend Mr Simpson.
Reverend Mr Sinclair.
Reverend Mr Willy.
Reverend Mr Hull.
Reverend Mr Glandy.

And above thirty more presbyterian ministers, all equally respectable by their abilities and for the consideration they enjoyed in the country.

CATHOLICS

Garret Byrne (Ballymanus).
William Byrne. d°
William Michael Byrne (Newtown Mount Kennedy.)
Esmond Cane.
Fitzgerald (county Wexford).
Edward Roche.
Michael Redmond.
P. Redmond.
William Lawless.
Edward Kennedy.
James Farrell.
Edward O'Reilly.
Mat Byrne (of Reveillor).
Doctor Esmond.
J. Devereux (general).
M. Aylmer.
Ledwidge.
O'Sullivan.
Dillon.
John Sweetman.
Ferdinand O'Donnell.

LORD EDWARD FITZGERALD. — Brother of the duke of Leinster, accompanied by Arthur O'Connor, had an interview with general Hoche at Basle in Switzerland in

the spring of 1796. Returned to Ireland, he was one of the principal organizers of the system of the United irishmen, and having been bred a soldier, was to have the command.

In the spring of 1798, having been denounced before all was ready for the general rising, he was obliged to hide, but was betrayed and discovered by Reynolds (a United Irishman), to the agents of government. He attempted to defend himself, and shot two of the police men who had come to seize him, but being wounded in the struggle died a few days after in prison of his wounds. Lord Camden, the Viceroy, refused, to let his brother lord Henry Fitzgerald see him when dying.

BAGNELL HARVEY. — A gentleman of large landed property from 5,000 liv. sterl. to 6,000 liv. sterl. per an. in the county of Wexford. He commanded the insurgents at the battle of Ross and was afterwards taken prisoner and executed in the town of Wexford.

CORNELIUS GROGAN. — A gentleman of more than 11,000 liv. sterl. per an. in the county of Wexford. A most benevolent, excellent man. He was executed at Wexford and his property confiscated.

ARTHUR O'CONNOR. — A member of the irish parliament in 1795. He made that year the finest speech that ever had been heard in parliament, in favour of catholic eman-

cipation, for which he was desinherited by his uncle lord Longueville. He was one of the most active in organizing the United Irish. In endeavouring to get to France, in 1798, he was taken prisoner in England and was tried at Maidstone, along with Allen, Quigly and others; being there acquitted, he was brought back to Dublin on another charge and sent a prisoner to fort George in Scotland, where he remained till the peace of Amiens in 1802. He was only liberated on condition of expatriating himself for ever. On coming to France in 1802, he was named by the First Consul a lieutenant general and appointed to command the irish in the expedition to Ireland in 1803. He married the only daughter of the marquis Condorcet.

HAMPDEN EVANS. — One of the patriotic volunteers of 1780, possessed a large fortune of 8,000 liv. sterl. or 10,000 liv. sterl. per an. — Father of a numerous family, he was one of the most active from the first commencement of the system of the United Irish, and took a leading part in it, offering to sacrifice his life and the greater part of his fortune in the cause of his country. He was sent a prisoner to fort George and liberated at the same time and on the same terms as Arthur O'Connor. He came to Paris where he brought up his family.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT. — One of the first lawyers in Dublin and one of the most virtuous and most patriotic

of men. He was a member of the irish Directory with lord Edward Fitzgerald and was arrested in 1798. He was sent to fort George. Liberated and expatriated in 1802 like the other prisoners of fort George. He was chosen by the irish in Paris in 1803 to be the agent from the provisional government of Ireland to the First Consul and french government, which situation he held till 1805, when finding there was no prospect of an expedition to Ireland, he got his passports and went to America, where the Congress passed a decree, by which, contrary to the usual term of ten years, he received his naturalization 24 hours after landing there. He rose to great eminence as a lawyer in his newly adopted country and died at New-York.

NAPPER TANDY. — A wealthy man in Dublin. He was one of the first and most active of the united irish. He escaped early to France where he got the rank of general of brigade. He embarked three times in the different expeditions for Ireland. The last time, the vessel in which he was, was wrecked on the coast of Denmark. He went to Hamburgh, where he was given up by the senate to the English. He was kept a prisoner at Dublin until 1802; it was in consequence of the senate of Hamburgh thus violating the laws of neutrality and giving up to the english government Napper Tandy, colonel Blackwell, William Corbet and Harvey Morris, that Napoleon in 1800 levied so high a fine on the town of Hamburgh

after taking Hanover. He threatened to put several of his english prisoners to death, if the english government dared to execute these irish gentlemen.

THE TWO SHIERS. — Two brothers. One of them a lawyer in high repute at Dublin. Curran made a great speech in their defence at their trial. They were both executed at Dublin in 1798.

HAMILTON ROWAN. — A man of very large property. A volunteer of 1780, and one of the first and most active in organizing the united irishmen. He made his escape in a remarkable way to the continent.

He lived to return to his country and to see catholic emancipation carried, sitting under the gallery of the House of Commons in London the night the bill was passed in the spring of 1829.

WILLIAM HAMILTON. — A councillor now in America.

THOMAS RUSSELL. — A prisoner at fort George, an exile, and returning to Ireland in 1803 and being engaged in Robert Emmett's affairs, he was tried at Dublin, then taken to the North and put to death. He had been originally an officer in the army.

WILLIAM CORBET. — Now a general in the french service. He was one of those given up a prisoner to the en-

glish by the senate of Hamburgh, in violation of the laws of neutrality in 1798. He escaped in a wonderful manner from the jail at Kilmainham near Dublin.

CAPTAIN PERRY. — A gentleman of fortune in the county of Wexford. A very fine character, brave and patriotic. He was taken a prisoner before the insurrection of 1798 broke out. His hair was cut off, and a hot pitch cap put on his head by the soldiers of the North Cork militia. He was released out of the prison of Gorey, when the town was taken by the insurgents and made their general. He retained the command through the different actions. When all was over, he was taken prisoner with a priest of the name of Kerns, and both were executed without any trial.

CATHOLICS

Sutton.
Sweeny.
J. Hay (of Wexford).
John Cormick.
Hugh Ware.
John Allen.
Quigly.
Merth Mernay.
Joseph Mac Donald.
John Gibbons.
Austin O'Mally.
Pat Mac Can.
Wal. Derry.
Richard Mac Cormick.
John Keogh.
Edward Byrne (of Mullynahach).
P. Murray.
Thomas Murray.
Reverend Quigley (executed at Maidstone).
Reverend Kearns (executed at Kildare).
Reverend John Murphy (executed at Tullow).
W. Murphy.

Peter Finnerty.
John Mac Can.
Thomas Doorley.
Doctor Mac Neven.
W. Barker.
George Lubé.
T. Markey.
Tony Mac Can.
T. Burgess.
Francis Breen.
Furlong.
John Kelly.
Nicholas Murphy.
Thomas Cloney.
Thomas Branghall.
Edward Lewens.
Garrett Grahame.
Philip Neill.
E. Tennet.
J. Doyle.
D. Kervin.
Robert Carthy.
P. Byrne.
Reverend Philip Roche (executed at Wexford).
Reverend Michael Murphy (killed at the battle of Arklow).
Reverend John Redmond (executed at Gorey).
Charles Teeling.
Bartholomew Teeling.
Bernard Mahon.
Reverend F. Kavanagh.
Reverend Mac Stafford.
Reverend H. O'Keon.
Reverend M. Prendergast.
Reverend Mr Harrold.
Reverend Dennis Taaffe.

All these protestant and catholic gentlemen, and a great many more, equally respectable, were either killed in fighting against the english troops, or executed by the english government after the insurrection was suppressed, or put into prison or obliged to expatriate themselves Many are yet living in France and America, in which countries they have distinguished themselves in various professions, and have received the honours and rewards due to their merit.

It is not just in an author to seek to throw a veil over the history of efforts made by virtuous and patriotic men

in the cause of the independence of their country; and it is not easy to comprehend, how Mr de Beaumont could do it, he, who is evidently the advocate of liberty, and apparently disposed to do justice to the oppressed irish. One can only attribute it to his aversion to a part of the irish aristocracy, on account of their conduct towards their unfortunate country, and particularly those of them who live out of Ireland, and who have no sort of sympathy with the irish people, although possessing property in Ireland. Amongst those who took a part in the insurrection of 1798 there were a great number of catholic gentlemen, holding land as farmers but descended from those who had been deprived of their property in land, at the time of the Reformation, and under Cromwell, and above all under William the III, merely because they were catholics. They were allowed to take leases of land for 21 and 31 years, but never to buy it before the year 1782.

There were also amongst those who joined the insurrection of 1798 many rich merchants, lawyers, advocates, doctors of medicine both catholic and protestant, and some protestant dissenting ministers. In short, a great many men who were held in high esteem and consideration either on account of their wealth, or their families, character, talents, or their enlightened opinions.

Mr de Beaumont might have found all these particulars in the Memoirs of Wolfe Tone; and if he had read

the « History of the rebellion in the county of Wexford » by Mr Hay, he would have seen what class of men acted then against the british government. — The work published by doctor Mac Neven at New York in the year 1807, and written conjointly by him and Mr Thomas Addis Emmett (and which he does not appear to have consulted), would have shewn him the wise and patriotic views of these able men and he would have conceived a higher opinion of the chiefs or leaders of the national movement in 1798. M. de Beaumont would not have passed over so slightingly the events of that epoch; they merited certainly a higher place in the history of the political state of Ireland. — In fine, it was the men of 1798 who prepared catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, and all which has been obtained by the catholic association, or that future associations will obtain ; and though these men have been despoiled of all they possessed in the land of their birth, and have been separated from all they cherished most in it, still they have the consolation of knowing, that the efforts that they made to free their country from oppression, have not been made in vain.

Mr de Beaumont says[1] : « That at all times Ireland has « been the object, or weak point of England, to be attack- « ed by her enemies. That when republican France

[1] See page 527, of the 2d volume of M. Gustave de Beaumont's work « l'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse ». (F. B.)

« struggled against the european coalition, of which « England was the soul, she could imagine no better way « of resisting it, than by transporting an army into Ire- « land; and that with this view, she made in less than « two years, three successive expeditions. Certainly « these divers attempts at invasion have not been suc- « cessful, and Ireland has always responded so badly to « the attempts of the foreigner, that she has no right to « be reckoned an auxillary on whom the enemies of En- « gland can count with certainty. »

Here are the facts. Neither the french Directory nor the consular government kept the promises made to the irish patriots, who only asked for ten thousand men, and 40,000, stand of arms.

Disappointed by general Hoche and his army not landing in december 1796, as they expected, and reduced to despair by the persecution of the english government whom their appeal to France had irritated more and more against them, they began an insurrection, which was but partial.

The general insurrection which was projected in 1798 after the definitive system of the « united irish » had been organized, failed because lord Edward Fitzgerald and several other chiefs were betrayed or arrested. — The insurrection only broke out in three or four counties, such as Wexford, Kildare, Carlow and Wicklow. — The

county of Wexford alone sustained for a long time the shock of the whole british force, and won the victory on many striking occasions. — If general Humbert had landed with his thousand frenchmen, in the month of june 1798 when the patriots of the county of Wexford were still under arms, instead of landing in the month of august, when they were dispersed and discouraged, all Ireland would have risen; that which she wanted was a rallying point; her independence would have been immediately proclaimed, and every shadow of an english government, or Orange faction have been annihilated or forced to surrender.

Altho' general Humbert had landed too late, and when the spirit of the united irish was quite broken, still as he advanced into the country, he found the people every where ready to join him; but they were without arms, and he had not brought those which had been promised them. Humbert surrendered to lord Cornwallis, who was at the head of 30,000, men; and the unfortunate irish who had followed Humbert, were left on the field abandoned to the mercy of the english. — Many of those irish patriots were immediately shot and many were transported or hung.

England having been obliged during the war with France, to keep constantly more than forty thousand men in Ireland, or on the coast of great Britain, watching

the movements of that country; and as she could have employed these troops most advantageously on the continent, Ireland aided France most efficaceously, though indirectly, in her war with England.

Had M. de Beaumont read general Foy's observations on the insurrection of Ireland, perhaps he would have formed a different opinion. — In the 2d book of the 1st vol : of general Foy's works, published by his widow, are the following observations.

« England had also a Vendée ready to break out : that « was « Ireland, » oppressed as it was under the double « weight of political and religious oppression. The an- « nals of that country, from the day it was invaded by « its neighbour at the end of the 12th century, are a long « recital of expropriations and massacres. Towards the « close of the year 1796 a fleet and an army under the « command of general Hoche, were sent by the executive « Directory of France, to free the unfortunate irish. — « The ships were scattered by a storm, a few shewed « themselves on the west coast of Ireland, but none ever « attempted a landing.

« The year following the treaty of Campo Formio re- « established peace on the continent. The french troops « were collected in great bodies on the coasts of the « Ocean and the Mediterranean; and the different french

« armies took the names of the countries they were des-
« tined to invade.

« Almost the whole force of France, divided into seve-
« ral corps, and commanded by the most illustrious
« general of the republic, Buonaparte, made a part of
« the army of England.

« Mr Pitt who then directed the councils of our ene-
« mies, availed himself of these circumstances to rouse
« the military spirit of the people of England. The
« alarms which our threats had awakened were all at
« once dissipated when it was known at London to what
« point the armament from Toulon was directed. — If
« Buonaparte and his brave soldiers had landed in Ire-
« land, instead of being transported into Egypt, other
« fortunes would have awaited the world. But romance
« was preferred to history. — Ireland expected us, — Ire-
« land which clings to us, and which resembles the french
« character by the ardent and impressionable genius
« of her people and by hatred for the common enemy.

« Although neglected by their allies, the irish took
« up arms in the month of may 1798. The insurrection
« had been foreseen. — The Island was covered with en-
« glish troops of the line and militia devoted to the go-
« vernment : they fought with cruelty in an unjust war.
« The commanders did nothing but sack and deci-
« mate.

« No succour came from abroad to the united irish. Of

« various incomplete expeditions sent out from the ports « of France, one only reached its destination, and then « it came too late. It was composed of a thousand men « a sort of forlorn hope, commanded by Humbert, an « ignorant but intrepid soldier, who had the rank of ge- « neral of brigade. »

M. de Beaumont speaks of the vicious and depraved character of the irish, as of a fact never to be doubted.— (See the 6th chapter of the 1st vol.)

On what grounds does he support such an accusation? Does he cite a single fact to support it? No. — For the most simple comparison between the criminal statistics of Ireland and those of France and of England would have convinced him, that there are infinitely more crimes committed in France and in England than in Ireland.

M. de Beaumont says, the irish are lazy, idle, etc. But this is rather a vague accusation and quite without foundation. The irish labour very diligently in England and Scotland, in the United States and else where, and we have never heard it said, that they refused to work in Ireland, when the government or individuals gave them employment.

To shew that the irish are not more disposed to crime,

cruelty and violence than the french or the english, one has only to consult the statistics of crime to be found in the annals of the courts of justice in the three countries. But the regard shewn by the insurgents to women of all ranks during the insurrection of 1798 and their respect for the protestant churches, are convincing proofs in favour of the national character. They gave themselves up to no reprisals, altho' their churches and chapels were demolished by the english troops.

In page 350 of the 1st volume of M. de Beaumont's work, there is the following passage, speaking of the irish : « he has notoriously a sort of invincible aversion to « truth. Between truth and falsehood, tho' he may be « quite desinterested, one may reckon on his preferring « the lie. »

It is not necessary to contradict such an assertion. — It suffices to appeal to the human heart to refute it.

Purity of morals between the sexes is a virtue that the irish possess in a high degree, and which is acknowledged by M. de Beaumont, and even by the bitterest enemies of the irish nation. As the virtues go hand in hand, it is impossible for a people who are distinguished by the exercise of one, not to possess others; and when one thinks of the sentiments of honour and tenderness which animate those who practice this virtue, they ought

not to be regarded or spoken of as a people without virtue or principle.

Amongst the wives and daughters of the other irish exiles of whom I had to take leave before starting for the coast in december 1803, was, Mrs Tone, with her three children, two boys and a girl. The latter was a fine grown girl of twelve or fourteen; she had the misfortune to lose her and one of her sons at Paris, some time after. Fortunately her other son lived to publish his heroic father's admirable memoirs, which prove to the world, that Ireland would have been a free country, governing herself, had the general in chief, Hoche, been on board the same vessel as Theobald Wolfe Tone, in the Bay of Bantry, on Christmas day 1796.

Mrs Tone was in every respect worthy of being the companion of her lamented husband. She was very well mannered and very obliging to her friends. I recollect in 1806 when our regiment was on march to Mayence, that captain Barker had to leave his son Arthur, then nine years of age with Mrs Tone, who kindly kept him nearly a month with her own children, till he was placed in the irish college, where he finished his education in 1815. Mr and Mrs Barker were ever grateful to Mrs Tone for her kindness on this occasion; and indeed their son Mr Arthur Barker, though so young then remembers

being the playmate of Tone's children as an event not to be forgotten.

Though Mrs Jackson, the widow of the reverend W. Jackson, one of the first martyrs to the independence of his native land, had but a small pension to live on, still she had her son and daughter very well educated. Mrs Jackson was clever and well informed, and her children availed themselves of this advantage. They were clever and sprightly. — Miss Jackson was married to a merchant at Havre. — In 1820 Mr Warden and I signed a paper for her to obtain a passport for Italy, where she went to visit her mother and brother who were residing at Leghorn.

Of all the exiled irish ladies in Paris in 1803, poor Mrs Hamilton was the most to be pitied; she had heard of the melancholy end — the trial and execution — of her beloved uncle Thomas Russell on whom she doated, and every hour she feared she would hear that her husband had shared the same fate, a reward being offered for his apprehension. It appeared impossible for him to procure a safe hiding place, or the means of escaping from a country, where terror of every description was reigning, with martial law and all its horrors. However William Hamilton was not sold and betrayed into the hands of his enemies, as was the unfortunate Russell.

To finish my visits, I had still to call on MM. John Sweetman, Mat Dowling, Richard Mac Cormick, Edward Lewins, Delany, Dr Mac Mahon, etc. These patriots were stopping at Paris, hoping they might soon be called on to co-operate in their civil capacity with us, once we were landed in Ireland. Poor Arthur Mac Mahon had an attack of paralysis the day before I left Paris. — My friend and former comrade Paul Murray, not feeling the same activity and power of marching that he had when we were together in the Wicklow mountains in 1798, the day after he received his commission, set off for Morlaix on foot, intending to take the coach occasionally, when tired with walking.

Hugh Ware and I agreed to set out on foot and to march the whole way to Morlaix, without incurring the expence of either horse or coach-hire. He came to sleep at my lodgings in the rue de la Harpe, the night before we set off : he having had to give up the hired furniture he had had at his own lodgings. — At break of day we took our little portmanteaus under our arms and brought them to Mr William Lawless's apartment in the rue de la Loi (rue de Richelieu); he kindly promised to bring them with his own baggage by the coach to Morlaix. He told us that he, Mac Neven, Sweeny, Tennant, Gallagher and Lacy had retained the six inside places of the diligence, or stage coach, leaving Paris for Morlaix ten days after, and we might be sure of our portmanteaus on arriving there.

We then took leave of captain Lawless, who was still in bed, and we marched off to Versailles, where Ware had given a rendez-vous to his cousin Joseph Parrott, captain Macguire, Lambert, John Reilly, Fitzpatrick, and James Mac Egan, a lad of fourteen years of age After we had breakfasted and visited the chateau, waited to see the famous clock strike, and the cock turn out and flutter its wings, the only remaining fixture in this once renowned palace, the scene of intrigue, debauchery and artificial greatness, we set out again, to make another etape (or day's march and halt) on the road to Rambouillet, where we got billets of lodging and passed the night.

Hugh Ware being an admirer of country scenery, a judge of land, and of architecture, well read and versed in history, it was a great advantage to me to have him as my fellow traveller. He would wish to examine every mansion or chateau near the road, and tell us something of their antiquity or renown. That part of Normandy through which we passed to Alençon, was rich and well cultivated. One night it blew a terrible storm. Next morning we found on our march, the road in many places strewed with fine trees, torn from their roots by this whirlwind. We said, what a pity that the expedition was not ready at Brest, as the english fleet, must now be off to Torbay, from its blockading station before Brest.

It was after such a storm that general Hoche's fleet sailed with his expedition in 1796 for Ireland, and passing at Rennes, it brought to our recollection that he had his head quarters in that town previous to embarking, and that it was there that he got the proclamation translated and printed in the portuguese language, by a priest of that nation, in order to baffle the english spies, who thought in consequence that Hoche's expedition was destined for Portugal. —

This part of Britany through which we were passing, reminded us of our own country ; the climate nearly the same; fine pasturage to be seen on every side; the cattle generally of an inferior race, cultivation much neglected, and the poor people only beginning to recover from the bad effects of their civil wars. However our journey continued to the end to be agreeable indeed; marching four or five leagues before breakfast, and six or seven again before we reached the town where we passed the night; and though in the month of december, we had time to take a view of the churches, or any thing curious, before going to dinner.

We remarked that the country people returning from their fairs and markets, generally had taken a hearty glass of cider brandy, and their dresses were quite different as we approached Morlaix. We arrived at this town

after a long day's march, late at night, and next morning paid our visits.

We had the satisfaction of again meeting many of our friends. Lawless, Mac Neven and the other officers who travelled by the coach, only arrived the day before us. We got billets of lodging. Mine was with a Mr Premcour, a receiver of contributions, by whom I was most graciously received. I had invitations from this gentleman and his lady to evening parties, which was a great advantage to me in learning french.

My valued friend Val Derry had arranged for our mess, at the hotel de France, where we had an excellent table, and in the best part of the town, near the bridge, on the quay. Mr and Mrs Barker lived next door, and Thomas Markey was just arrived from Bordeaux. He gave us a splendid account of general Augerau's army, with which he had been on the frontiers of Spain. It was now assembled in the neighbourhood of Brest, ready to embark for Ireland. The adjutant general Mac Sheehy, who was charged with the organization of the legion, accompanied us to the magazine, where we received our swords, epaulettes, etc., and he gave orders to the master tailor and boot maker respecting our uniforms. Five days after, I had mine, and I was completely equipped and ready to embark. — General Mac Sheehy was exceedingly busy receiving the officers who were arriving every day and by every stage coach from all parts of France, and giving

his orders to have them equipped forthwith, ready to embark. — We were truly glad to see Allen, Dowdall, Sandy Devereux, Cummings and O'Kelly arriving after their long journey from Cadiz. Allen and Dowdall's escape was fortunate indeed, for the state of Ireland was such at the time they were hiding in the neighbourhood of Dublin, that it was thought impossible for them to procure means of getting away.

Morlaix was the rendez-vous of the irish exiles in january 1804. Mr et Mrs Barker met amongst them many of their former friends, and I recollect spending a most agreeable day at their house, when they entertained at dinner a number of the officers; such as adjutant general Mac Sheehy, Mac Neven, Lawless, William O'Meara, Mandeville, Masterson, O'Gorman, Derry, Fitzhenry, etc. Captain Barker seemed quite happy to have at his table that day, officers who had been in the irish brigade before 1792, and others who were by his side at the battle of Vinegar Hill on the 21st of june 1798, where he lost his arm fighting for Ireland's rights. — Our evenings were spent agreeably enough, and our morning occupations were highly amusing; learning the position of a soldier without arms, marching in quick and ordinary time; learning the manual exercise with the musket, etc.; we had the best french instructors, who told us, we should in a short time be capable of becoming instructors ourselves to teach others.

Unfortunately adjutant general Mac Sheehy, notwithstanding his great activity and talents as a staff officer, was not equal to the task of organizing a political corps like the irish legion, composed of patriots, all of whom had suffered in their country's cause, but differing on many points as to the best way of redressing her grievances. He was young, and wanted experience in irish matters. The following narrative which I wrote from notes that I kept on the service of the irish legion, will shew in a great measure why Mac Sheehy failed in his mission.

My friend colonel O'Neill being engaged collecting materials for writing the history of the irish brigades in the service of France, 'till they ceased in 1792, asked me, in 1837, to furnish him with notes on the organization, services, and campaigns of the irish legion, and particularly about the first regiment of this legion, which had been so much distinguished in Spain and in Germany, at Flushing, Astorga, Lowenberg on the Bober, Antwerp, etc., down to the month of september 1815, when it was disbanded at Montreuil-sur-Mer. — Nearly a year after I had given my notes to colonel O'Neill, I was not a little surprised when he told me one day that he was going to get them published along with a small manuscript he got from Mr Warden, on the affairs of Ireland in 1797 and 1798, extremely well written, as indeed every thing Mr Warden wrote was; it was relating to the period he

was concerned in, till he escaped to America. — I observed to colonel O'Neill that my notes were not prepared for the press; to which he replied, that competent judges to whom he had shewn them, told him they might be published in the shape they were; and he then read to me part of the introduction he was preparing for his first volume, at the head of which was to be Mr Warden's work, consisting of about twenty pages. — A few days after this, poor O'Neill had a slight attack of apoplexy, and in consequence his physicians ordered him to refrain from the application of either reading or writing. He however had his friend colonel Mac Sheehy going as usual to the archives at the war office, taking notes and collecting materials for the history of the irish brigades; and he employed my friend Mr Rafferty to translate all these notes; for he intended to have his work published both in english and french at the same time. He could not have chosen a more fit person than Mr Rafferty, for he quite entered into the spirit of the undertaking, like a true irish patriot as he was, and though he had a situation which kept him very busy, he contrived to find time for the translation, and O'Neill was sure it would be well done, as Mr Rafferty was a good french scholar, and he wrote the english language in a pure, bold style. He had to translate also many latin inscriptions; for colonel O'Neill went down into the vaults of the churches where any irish were buried, in order to copy from their tombstones, names, deeds, etc.

Colonel O'Neill was at great expence getting notes from the archives of foreign countries, where irish troops had served, as he intended his history to comprise those of Austria, Naples, Spain;— from Spain particularly he had got some very valuable documents, through his correspondent at Madrid, about the three irish regiments which had been in the spanish service : Ultona, Ireland and Hibernia; a friend of mine, captain Canton, who had served in one of those irish regiments in Spain, being at Paris at the time, also furnished colonel O'Neill with many notes and a great deal of information respecting the spanish army, and the way the irish were employed in it.

At the royal library in the rue Richelieu, colonel O'Neil got the gazettes or newpapers of the reign of Louis XIII, in which there was mention of the irish then in the french army; from these, and the military annuaires, or army lists, he got many things he wanted to aid him to complete his biographical history of the irish who had to fly from their own country and learn the military profession in a foreign land.

Altho' colonel O'Neill was prohibited by his medical adviser, any serious application as to writing, still his work advanced under his direction, and he wished much to see it printed and published at Paris in english and french. —

About the middle of july 1844, we had a most agreeable visit from colonel O'Neill, alas! it was the last. He came to invite Mrs Byrne and me to dine with him and spend the evening at madame de Beaulieu's, where we were sure to be well entertained. He was in high spirits and looking extremely well. He was very fond of music, played on the flute, guitar, clarinet, violin, etc., etc. Madame de Beaulieu had an excellent piano. — This very amiable lady was the daughter of one of Benjamin Franklin intimate friends, when he resided at Paris as the representative of the United States of America. She used to shew us, with much pride, a little wax figure which her father had got made of this great statesman in his simple dress of the republican minister, and some of his hair was carefully preserved and put on the head of the statuette.

Poor O'Neill seemed very happy that evening. He not only played on various instruments, but sang well, and that evening sang several airs, Mrs Byrne accompanying him on the piano.

A few days after, he was writing a letter, when he felt another attack of apoplexy; he had just time to ring for his servant, fall on the floor and bid him send for a priest, the doctor and his cousin young O'Neill, professor of mathematics at the college of Sainte-Barbe. To the latter he gave the key of his desk, saying, when I am no

more you will get my will there have it executed. The doctor had every thing applied which is usual in such cases. He then left him with his confessor. I was sent for; when I arrived he was speechless. He died in the night after a long suffering. —

Young O'Neill being his executor and heir had the funeral service, and indeed every thing else, honourably conducted. — Some days after, poor O'Neill's savings, amounting to about thirty two thousand francs, was divided according to his will. To his man servant and his wife, he left six thousand francs, all his clothes, bed linen, and the greater part of his valuable furniture. — To madame de Beaulieu three thousand francs. — To colonel Mac Sheehy one thousand francs. — To Mr Barker five hundred francs. — After paying the physician, funeral, churchservice expences, a handsome monument in the cemetery of Mont-Parnasse, young O'Neill had the remainder with his library, and his study furniture. To me he left his sword and general Foy's memoirs in four volumes. — To Mrs Byrne a work she had read but returned to him, which he knew she would like to have, as the author of it was an acquaintance of her lamented brother Francis Horner at Paris[1] in 1814. Viz : « Travels

[1] See a letter from Francis Horner to Mr Dugald Stewart. In the « Memoirs and correspondence of Francis Horner, » 2d vol., page 203, of the 1st or London edition; and 2d vol., page 196, of the 2d or Boston edition. (F. B.)

in the east, » by monsieur CHEVALIER, bibliothécaire en chef, or head librarian to the Pantheon library and the college of Henry the fourth. M. Chevalier had been tutor to sir Francis Burdett. He was the friend of colonel O'Neill. — Unfortunately this work had been lent to some one, and young O'Neill could never learn to whom. He regretted much that he could not execute that part of his cousin's will, which deprived him of the pleasure of giving Mrs Byrne this memorial of colonel O'Neill. This work is, Mr Chevalier's travels in the east, at the time he was attached to the french embassy at Constantinople.

Young O'Neill brought me back my Mss notes, and he kindly gave me poor O'Neill's portrait, copied from the original. I told him if he intended to go on with the work his cousin had begun, I should be happy to give him all the assistance in my power. He replied that he had not time for such an undertaking then, but that the papers and materials collected should be carefully preserved.

He was highly educated, having finished his studies at the polytechnique school. He was destined for the artillery, but in consequence of being short-sighted, he became a professor of mathematics and he is considered one of the first, as the college of Sainte-Barbe, where he gives

his lectures, prepares more young men for the polytechnique school than any of the others in Paris.

I was very glad to have got back my manuscript, and as it had been carefully read and revised by my lamented friend, I was the more desirous to have it published one day along with my memoirs of what I had witnessed in Ireland before coming to France.

Colonel O'Neill, after reading my notes, asked me to make one change only, which was, to say, that it was the « ministry, » and not the minister of war, Clark, the duke of Feltre, who had, in the most brutal manner given orders in 1815 to have several distinguished irish officers arrested and sent out of the french territory, the land of their adoption, and after all their campaigns and honourable services. I was sorry I could not comply with his request, as it would have been inconsistant and ungrateful of me. For one of the ministers, the duke de Caze, who was then charged with the police of all France, allowed me to stop at Paris, in order that I might have time to remonstrate against the crying injustice of the duke of Feltre, the war minister, who persevered in insisting that I should quit France, and so late as 1817, when it was expected at least the persecution of the half pay officers had abated. Alas! that was not the case, which will be seen in the biographical notice on general Clark, duke of Feltre, in this volume. I repeated to

colonel O'Neill my regret that I could not make the change in my notes he desired.

I feel it necessary to mention these circumstances now, because the 2d volume of my memoirs commences with those notes on the organization of the irish legion in the service of France, under the Consulate, the Empire, and the Restoration of the Bourbons.

As I have already mentioned the names of some of the irish exiles I met at Paris in 1803, I must also speak of the brave irish patriots with whom I became acquainted after the peace of 1815.

I met at Tours in 1816 Mr John Lubé of Summer Hill, Dublin; he was residing there with his wife and children, and his house soon became an agreeable rendezvous for Ware, Allen, Hayne and myself; indeed it could not be otherwise, as all our opinions and sympathies harmonized with each others; besides, Mr Lubé's brother George, who had had to escape to America, had been the companion of William Aylmer, and Hugh Ware in the insurrection of 1798; and Mrs Lubé's brother, was John Cormick, at whose house in Thomas street, Dublin, lord Edward Fitzgerald frequently met his numerous friends. Mr Cormick escaped to the United States, where he settled, and never was allowed to return, though he was led to expect that a permission would be given him, in

1822, to go to Ireland for a few days on family affairs ; I met him at Paris in company at that period with general Lawless and Edward Lewens, both these gentlemen seemed satisfied with the account Mr Cormick gave them about the way he effected his escape to America, etc.

In 1818 Mr John Lubé left Tours and came with his family to reside at Paris, and as I had permission from the minister of war to stop there until I was employed, I again found Mr Lubé and his amiable wife endeavouring to make their house agreeable to the irish who frequented at that period the french capital. I saw at their evening parties many persons of great celebrity afterwards; such as, young Balzac, counsellor Lalor Shiel, counsellor Denis Lubé, the companion of the great John Philpot Curran; he was Mr Lubé's eldest son. With him I spent many agreeable days, he was so entertaining, and full of anecdotes on irish affairs.

I recollect meeting Mr Lubé one morning in the spring of 1818 in the Luxembourg garden; he told me he was going to Dublin for a short time on business, and that he wished to wait on the reverend Dr Murray, the catholic archbishop of Dublin, who was then stopping at the irish college at Paris, to take charge of his commissions for Ireland. I accompanied Mr Lubé to the college, as I had some small parcels to give to his Lordship, which were committed to my care by his friends in Ireland We met

at the college in company with Dr Murray, the catholic primate of all Ireland, the reverend Dr Curtis, whom, I knew in Spain in 1810 at Salamanca, where he was superior of the irish college, ere he became the stipendary of the english general Wellington, and, as they say in Ireland, disgraced his cloth; — we did not renew our acquaintance. I found him, from being a tall, splendid looking man, as he was when I saw him, now completely broken-down and stooping.

I always remember the morning of the 13th of february 1820. Mr Lubé was very busy seeing to the coach office two irish ladies who were returning to Dublin, when he heard of the assassination of the duke of Berry; he feared the coach might be delayed in consequence. — Mr Lubé resided at the hotel of the duke de Clarence in the rue Grenelle-Saint-Germain, just near my lodgings in the rue des Saints-Pères, so that we met frequently, which to me, at that dull period for french half-pay officers, was indeed a great pleasure.

A good irish patriot Mr Parks had, like John Cormick to go and seek a home in some of the cheap back settlements of the United States of America, where he had to live with his wife and two children, a son and a daughter, on very limited means, for several years, till a near relation bequeathed to him a large fortune. He then came with his family to live in Paris, and through our mutual

friend Mr Warden, the american consul, we became acquainted, which was to me another source of pleasure, as Mr Parks was one of the frankest and best of men. He used to delight in giving a description of the frugal way he had to live in America, and his own occupations there, cutting wood, making the fire, getting the kettle boiled for tea, before his wife got up in the morning. —

Mr Parks occupied an hotel in the rue Vaugirard which belonged to Mr Boulay (de la Meurthe) one of the last faithful ministers of Napoleon, and as his family kept an apartment for themselves, where they generally resided in winter, they were very much at the balls and evening parties given by Mr Parks and his amiable family, and where I saw a great deal of the best french society. I there became acquainted with colonel Simon Laurier who was one of the many victims of the re-action and persecution carried on against the half pay officers after the second abdication of Napoleon; he was cashiered and deprived of course of his half pay; he however, did not despond; he betook himself to a species of commerce, which, with every thing else, tended to bring to light the injustice of the Bourbon government. — He allowed wine merchants to put his name over their shops, and retail and sell wine for the benefit of colonel Simon Laurier. He was assisted, in this undertaking by the high minded, independent patriots of the day, particularly so, by the worthy Laffite. — I met in 1834, being in garrison with the 56th regiment at Nantes, colonel

Simon Laurier, who was then commanding the department. Of course we had many a pleasant chat about our friends at Paris, and the great changes that had taken place there in the interval. — He was witty, and amiable in his manners. He got promoted soon after to the rank of general of brigade.

An irish family of which I had heard much, as possessing all the sentiments of true patriots, arrived in Paris in 1820 — Mr John Prat Winter of the county of Meath, at whose house sir Francis Burdett stopped, during the memorable trial of Roger O'Connor at Trim. Mr Winter came to Paris with his large family, consisting of, his wife; five sons and four daughters. They first took up their abode at a boarding house, n° 30, rue Cassette, until he had his house, n° 17, boulevard des Invalides furnished, where he resided for several years, and where he received some of the best french and foreign society.

Mr Winter's sons were well educated, distinguished young men, and real irishmen. Arthur, the second son, like all the family longed to see Ireland well governed, and independent, but seeing no chance, at that period, of her shaking off the english yoke, he wished to go and fight with the Greeks, and aid them to obtain their independence. His father had subscribed largely to their sacred cause, as he was the friend of lord Byron. He readily consented to allow his brave young son to proceed to Greece and join lord Byron at his head quarters at Misso-

longhi, where he was appointed one of the principal staff officers. After the lamented death of lord Byron, young Winter joined the greek army in the mountains and shared with them, all their miseries, dangers and glories, for nearly two years, till from fatigue, a bad wound and sickness, he finished his honourable career in a village called « Gastonni » on the road from Pyrgos to Patrass, and as I had the command of the former town and district for a short time in 1828, I learned all the sad tidings about my dear friend young Winter, which brought to my mind the affliction of his family in Paris, when they heard of his death His poor father used to take such pleasure in reading to me his son's letters from Greece, and his sanguine hopes of success in the noble cause he was fighting for; and though the melancholy death of lord Byron threw a damp over him, still he did not despair. Such was his irish fortitude to bear up against adversity, and few indeed of the vast number of « Philhelenes » who fought for grecian freedom, had made greater sacrifices to obtain it than he had done, abandoning his family and home, where he could enjoy every comfort, except that of seing his own country as she ought to be, « great, glorious and free. »

Every member of Mr Winter's family that I had the pleasure of meeting at his house, were, like himself, truly irish; his brother, though a clergyman of the church of England, wished a perfect tolerance and equality between every religious persuasion, and conse-

quently an end put to the protestant ascendency in Ireland, which he would say was the worst of despotisms. His sister, miss Winter, was highly educated, liberal and strong minded. She had an independent fortune of her own, and made a good use of it. She, with her nephew John Winter spent a long time at Rome ; he was studying the fine arts, and succeeded in painting.

Mr Winter being appointed guardian to two orphan boys, sons of his cousin, of eight and nine years of age, had them brought over to Paris to make part of his family, and he had them sent to a french-day-school. One evening that the eldest of these boys was sitting beside me, on a sofa, I asked him how he got on at the school with the french lads. « Oh ! » he replied « very well, for if they « were to look angry at me, Bill would soon knock them « down. » I then asked him what profession his brother Bill was intended for. — « Oh ! » he said, « I am to have « a fortune, and I shall be rich enough to make Bill a « captain Rock. »

The children being sent to bed, Mr Winter wished to know the conversation I had had with young Bumford. When I repeated it, he exclaimed : « That's John's teaching, » meaning his butler who had been one of the insurgents of 1798. When I added « John Prat ? » there was a general laugh. « Oh ! no, Mr Byrne, » said Mr Winter, « I dont want to make captain Rocks of the boys, but I « trust I shall be able to have them well educated in their

« own country, without sending either of them to Ox-
« ford or Cambridge; and once of age, they will judge
« for themselves the part they will have to act as irish
« citizens and patriots. » — « Captain Rock » had just been published (1824). Young Bumford not only saw all the family enchanted with it, but he had to be reader for the servants who could not read, so it was not wonderful at his age, that he hoped for the renown of the « Rocks » for his brother, who though younger, was much stronger and stouter made than he was.

Some months before Mr Winter left Paris, he sold his furniture and gave up his house on the boulevard des Invalides, and hired a handsome furnished apartment in a more central part of the town, the rue Godot de Mauroi, a street near « what was to be » the Temple of Glory, now the church of the Madeleine. — Mr Winter continued as usual, to receive a great deal of choice company at his new residence, and he made with his amiable family, many agreeable excursions to the country in the neighbourhood of Paris. To one of these I was invited, not as a partner, but as a guest. We were fourteen in number, two coaches, twelve inside, and two outside. We spent the first day at Mortfontaine, the beautiful mansion of king Joseph Buonaparte. We saw the fleet of ships on the lakes, the groves, the gardens, etc. This residence belonged, or was then occupied by Mr Shickler, a prussian gentleman who kept it in the greatest order,

quite superior to what it was in the king's time. Mr Shickler being immensely rich, he spared no expence on his establishment. I never saw any thing to equal his stables, the mangers of which were of white italian marble. And the same luxury was lavished on every other part of the concerns. When we arrived, Mr Shickler was busy getting his fleet ready to sail, but he postponed his voyage until our visit was over, and shewed us the greatest attention and politeness whilst it lasted.

Our second day's excursion was to Ermenonville, once the residence of the celebrated Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and where the proprietor of the vast domain and château, Mr Girardin, spared no expence to perpetuate the remembrance of the philosopher; throughout what is called the desert, are slabs of stone bestrewed, half covered with moss, and on which are inscribed lines from Rousseau's various works; and altho' Mr Winter was not a great admirer of his, still we spent the first day visiting them, as he wished to explain to us many incidents and curious anecdotes to which these inscriptions referred. — We thus passed the morning in the desert, and the evening gaily at the hotel « Jean Jacques, » where we had right good fare.

Next morning we went to visit the small island in the lake, where Rousseau had chosen his final abode. The monument was simple, with appropriate inscriptions, and carefully preserved tho' his remains were transferred to the Pantheon at Paris, to be placed in that temple be-

side Voltaire, Mirabeau, etc. « Aux grands hommes, la patrie reconnaissante. » — We then took a drive through the beautiful forest of Ermenonville; it being the after season, and the trees beginning to lose their verdure, we saw many artists taking sketches and studying the autumnal tints.

Mr Winter returned with his family to Ireland in 1827, leaving amongst his wide circle of friends and acquaintances at Paris, a great blank, for he was indeed much esteemed, and much regretted by them all. He was fond of an intercourse with young people of literary pursuits, and I recollect meeting Mr Salvandy frequently at his house.

Mr Winter published a work on the best way of educating and governing the irish people. His style was pure and refined. He did not agree with some catholics who were anxious to have mass celebrated in the language that the people could understand. — He thought it better to make no change. — Would to God all the protestant gentlemen in Ireland were patriots as John Prat Winter was !

Mr William Murphy of Mount Merrion, better known as Billy Murphy of Smithfield, Dublin, was one of those brave irish patriots who was appointed by the united irish organization to have co-operated in the county of Kildare

with lord Edward Fitzgerald, William Aylmer, Hugh Ware, etc., in the rising of 1798. — Poor lord Edward having met with his cruel and untimely end, Mr William Murphy effected his escape to Lisbon, where he took refuge till the bloodthirsty executions, tortures, imprisonments, etc., had in some degree abated; he then ventured to return to his native land, and resume his station in Dublin, as a sales' master and a merchant By his talents and industry, he soon realized a great fortune, carrying on all with the utmost assiduity and honour in his commercial transactions. He became the close friend of the immortal Henry Grattan, and of the truly sincere patriot lord Cloncurry, and took an active and an influential part in the politics of that period with those statesmen.

Although I had often spent agreeable evenings at Mount Merrion with Mr Murphy and his amiable family, it was only at Paris, in 1824, that I could properly appreciate his worth and talents, and the immense services he might have rendered to Ireland as one of her senators, had she been independent and able to make her own laws. — It being Mr Murphy's first visit to Paris, he had much to see, and as I was unemployed at the time, we were together almost every day seeing sights. He took handsome lodgings in the rue Saint-Honoré, near the church of the Assumption. He brought his daughters, Margaret and Fanny, from the Sacré-Cœur, where they

had been for their education, to join their mother, and their elder sister Katherine, and their brother John, so they were a party of six : four ladies and two gentlemen.

One saturday I brought them tickets to go next day sunday, to the king's chapel, to hear high mass and where all the royal family were to be present. — Gentlemen not being admitted into the chapel in pantaloons, and Mr Murphy not having brought his « ball dress » from Ireland, he had to get silk small clothes made up in haste for the ceremony at the chapel; they were so badly made that all the young folks, as well as he himself laughed at his appearance. — However they were all well placed in the chapel, and were amused with the sight. — As the palace of the Tuilleries could only be visited when the king drove out, Mr Murphy and his family availed themselves one day of his majesty's absence to see every thing. It was the last time Louis XVIII left the Tuilleries alive, he died on the 16th of september 1824.

One day Mr Murphy told me, that if a tract of marshy, waste land, or a lake (such as Mrs Doyle Lawless had purchased near Carcassonne in the south), was for sale, in any part of France, he would buy it, provided it was susceptible of improvement, and that he had commissioned his friend Mr Donaveu to be on the look out, as he had resided a good deal in France. On my asking if there were

not waste lands in Ireland. « Oh ! » he replied « thous-
« ands of acres susceptible of becoming the finest land ;
« but what security have we, unemancipated catholic
« serfs, to make such purchases in Ireland? We have no
« Buonaparte there to encourage and protect us, as
« Mrs Lawless had at Carcassonne. » He added, that lord Cloncurry and he had often and often spoke of the great blessing it would be to the poor irish to have the waste lands cultivated. But their plans and schemes on the matter could be of no avail, till a law was enacted on the subject; and he feared that the english and scotch members in the House of Commons would never pass such a one. And it was that fear which made it grievous to think that a nation of so many millions of inhabitants were deprived of the right of making their own laws.

In every conversation I had with Mr Murphy on the state of Ireland, I learned something new from him of her wants, and the possible remedies for these great evils; and indeed I was much struck with his simple, bold language, sound opinions and noble sentiments in speaking over all these matters. It made me think what a useful member he would have been in an irish parliament. The splendid fortune which he realized for his family, is a proof that he would have been adequate to fill the situation of financial minister, or chancellor of the irish exchequer.

Mr Murphy regretted that there was no good history of Ireland, and said that the antiquaries could not agree as to the origin of the pillar towers. He wished to buy Mac Geoghan's history bublished in french in 1758, but strange to say, we could not get it, although before the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815, it was to be had at many of the old book shops. My friend abbé Lynch who was arranging the library of the irish college, gave me a copy, which I got bound in two volumes, and sent it by my young friend James Power to Mr Murphy in 1826. It was the second edition of Mac Geoghan's history of Ireland.

One sunday we went to see M. Denon's museum of natural history and egyptian antiquities on the quai Voltaire Though none were admitted without a permission signed by the oriental antiquarian himself, still all the rooms were crowded. Mr Murphy being interested in the egyptian collection, wished me to ask M. Denon for explanations. I told him as miss Fanny spoke such good french she would be sure to get all the information he desired : she was then about twelve years of age, and very handsome. The moment she spoke to M. Denon, he was so struck with her beauty and manner, that he made her take his arm and conducted us through every part of the museum, explaining every thing to Mr Murphy, in the most amiable way possible; so that all the attention and honours were paid to our party, thanks to miss Fanny's knowledge of french.

Mr Murphy returned to Ireland and left miss Fanny at a boarding school in England. Mrs Murphy, John, and the two young ladies Katherine and Margaret went to spend the winter at Tours, but they saw the great funeral procession of Louis XVIII going to Saint-Denis, before leaving Paris; and the next year 1825 in the month of june they witnessed the grand entrance of Charles X coming from Rheims, after being anointed and crowned there, going to Notre-Dame, where the Te Deum and a great ceremony took place.

They returned in the autumn of 1825 to Ireland for miss Murphy's marriage to Mr Johnstone. — When John was married he came to reside in Paris (rue Monsieur), for some time. — I recollect spending the evening in his company the day before I set out for Greece in 1828, at a dinner party given by our worthy friend colonel de Montmorency Morris. — We saw a great deal of William and James Murphy, every time they were in Paris. I must say better, or more unassuming young men I never knew.

I have often mentioned how my military career was stopped by being placed on half pay in 1816, and remaining in that situation 'till 1828 before I got employe d, the law being, that no officer could obtain promotion but those presen with their regiments. As I was allowed to reside at Paris during that long period, I had thus an opportunity not only of spending my time ad-

vantageously, following the public lectures at the french colleges, but of knowing what was going on in unfortunate Ireland, and of becoming acquainted with many of her best citizens who were continually visiting the capital of France, after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1815. This in some degree compensated for the loss I sustained in not getting the advancement I was entitled to in the french army. According to regulation then, one half of the captains were promoted to the superior rank by seniority; and as I was at the top of the list, I should soon have been named lieutenant-colonel.

I was very glad to meet doctor Drumgold; he was on his way back from Rome, where he had been sent in 1819, by a catholic committee that occasionally met in Dublin, to regulate matters with the Holy See. His mission was much spoken of at that time, on account of the altercation his co-partner, the Wexford Friar, Father Hayes, had with the Pope's prime minister cardinal Gonsalvi. The latter had the reverend Mr Hayes arrested and put into prison, for having used some intemperate language, as he said; however as Father Hayes, though educated at Rome, was not a roman subject, he soon got out of prison.

Doctor Drumgold gained great notoriety without, he assured me, ever having merited it. The irish Orangemen used to drink his health after « the glorious, pious and immortal memory » as the man who let the cat out of the

bag, meaning the treatment reserved for them, the moment the protestant ascendency was put down.

Doctor Drumgold was not only a well bred and well educated man, but exceedingly tolerant and humane. He was no doubt a staunch, good roman catholic, ready any day to die for his religion and country. — He lodged at a boarding house, rue Cassette, n° 36 ; as I lived close by, we were much together, and followed the public lectures at the different colleges, but more particularly those at the college du Plessis, on account of the eminent professors employed there, Thénard, Guizot, Villemain, Cousin, Lacretelle, etc. The last, one day in his lecture, was praising queen Elizabeth beyond measure, as the greatest of potentates, without making the slightest allusion to her cruelties and turpitudes towards her irish subjects. Doctor Drumgold thought fit to write to him in consequence of this omission, and gave him long extracts from every history that had been published, on the way Ireland had been governed during that long and infernal reign of the virgin queen Elizabeth, etc. Nothing could be more candid and amiable than Monsieur Lacretelle at his next lecture. After reading, as was his custom, the notes which he had received in the interval, he dwelt particularly on the one concerning Ireland, and added, that he had not terminated queen Elizabeth's reign. It will suffice to state, that ere he finished, she was painted out, worse, if possible, than Cromwell, for her monstrous, cold-blooded murders in Ireland. — Doctor

Drumgold came then away satisfied, and saying, what all who attended Monsieur Lacretelle's lectures thought, that he was one of the best and most impartial of lecturers, both on ancient and modern history.

Mr Lewens being desirous that his friend doctor Drumgold should hear to advantage the eloquent divine, the bishop of Hermopolis, the abbé de Frayssinous, at one of his conferences then so much followed at the church of Saint-Sulpice, had places one sunday kept for us near the pulpit.—On leaving the church, Lewens said, « Well « doctor, I hope you are pleased with all you have « heard. » — « Quite the contrary » was the reply. « I « did not expect to find a pulpit profaned with the name « of Louis the fourteenth. It is too bad to be mixing up « such men with religion. I feared mademoiselle de La « Vallière and all his other mistresses would have been « mentioned also. »

Lewens could not get him to change his severe remarks, or to think more favourably of the conference. Such was Drumgold's honesty and frankness, and profound knowledge of history. — He said he had formed his judgment and would stick by it.

I called one morning on doctor Drumgold, and found him greatly distressed, indeed shedding tears. He was reading a letter from his sister. — He said : « she is not « dead to be sure, but she is so to me, for she is going

« into a convent. » — « I am the cause of all » he exclaimed, « by staying away so long from home, where « we lived so happily together. » Not being married, the separation was more distressing to him. This was the worthy Drumgold, whom the irish Orangemen painted out as a cruel fanatick, capable of having them all murdered.

Doctor Drumgold had been to visit general Lawless, colonel Ware, and Allen at Tours, and he spoke with delight of the agreeable time he spent with those brave « exiles from Erin. » At general Lawless's country house Rochefouret, near Tours, there was a large room with three beds; Lawless used to quit his own, to spend the night in that room and have a real chat with such guests as Drumgold, Allen, etc. Doctor Drumgold thougt Allen was a man of such firmness of character, that he would have been fit to fill the highest situation in Ireland.

Doctor Drumgold returned to Ireland by Brussels in the winter of 1820 and 1821. — I gave him a letter of introduction to my friend the reverend Mr Cowan, who belonged to the cathedral church of that city. — This worthy priest introduced him to some of the first families of the place, from all of whom he received the greatest attention and kindness, during the three weeks he remained there.

Before he left Brussels, he wrote me a long letter on

the political state of the country; and often have I since remarked the justness of his views, and observations.— Castlereagh and Wellington, he said, think they have secured the peace of the world, by making Holland a great kingdom for the prince of Orange. They little thought, he added, that the Belgians detest the Dutch yoke, if possible more than the irish do the english one, and will avail themselves of any occasion to shake it off, even to become french, if no other alternative is left them. Such were doctor Drumgold's opinions at that dark, desponding period, when the despots of the holy alliance were in all their might using every stratagem in their power to oblige the people every where to relinquish all hopes of having any participation in the goverment of their country.

Poor father Hayes did not long enjoy the notoriety he acquired at Rome with doctor Drumgold. He returned to Wexford to see his family, and endeavour to recover his health which was much impaired. He came to Paris for medical advice; two of his sisters accompanied him, and a few days after their arrival he expired at his lodgings in the rue de Beaune, sitting in his chair, conversing to the last moment with his friends, and not suffering the least pain.

The good, worthy doctor Halliday, who attended him, had the funeral arrangements and church service, all properly done. He was interred in the burying

ground of Père-la-Chaise, with the usual ceremonies.

From the little I saw of Mr Hayes, he appeared to me a very amiable man, with very pleasing manners; and though in the last stage of a decline, his conversation was very animated and very bold, when speaking of the poor irish. He was considered highly educated, and well-informed on every thing respecting the government, or rather « misgovernment » of Ireland under her foreign rulers. — What a pity it is, that such men are called away prematurely. He was only thirty three years of age when he died.

Mr Harvey proprietor of the Dublin newspaper, the Freeman's journal, one of the best organs and advocates of the catholic rights and interests published in Ireland, came to Paris on the death of his uncle, colonel O'Kelly-which took place in that city in 1818. — Mr Harvey and his only child miss Harvey inherited large fortunes be, queathed to them by this relative. Mr Harvey came to Paris upon business, and for the education of his daughter.

I was much with him, and I must say that I learnt much from him on irish politics, he being the editor of a newspaper so widely circulated and so much read; having correspondents in every part of the country he knew well the political feeling of the true lovers of irish freedom, and he often told me curious anecdotes of their schemes and plans to force an intolerant and bigotted

english parliament to grant a catholic relief bill. « One of these lovers of freedom », prepared with Mr Harvey, in his private study, an article for the Freeman's journal. A few days after, at a great meeting, he heard this article spoken of in a very unbecoming manner, as he thought, and by the person at whose instigation it was written. He thought he owed to himself as well as to the interest of the newspaper which he directed not to let such unfair criticisms pass unnoticed, and in consequence he asked a friend, Alderman Mac Kenny, to require an explanation. This gentleman said : « My dear Harvey, « you are a young editor, and if you wish to forward the « views of those men, who think every thing they « say necessary, for obtaining the smallest concession « from the british government, you must expect some- « times to hear unpleasant language. » — Mr Harvey's rejoinder was, that he was sorry liberty could not be gained without such sacrifices.

Mr Harvey passed several years on the continent, particularly in Italy and France; in the latter country he resided a good deal at Paris and Versailles. In both places he saw some of the first society, and gave many splendid entertainments Miss Harvey being handsome and highly accomplished, had of course many suitors, and offers of marriage from many of the first nobility of France, dukes, counts, etc. Such titles would no doubt have been tempting to a young lady, not professing the

fine patriotic irish feelings of miss Harvey; but to her they were of no value in comparison of being the wife of young Henry Grattan, the son of the immortal Grattan of 1782. This decision on her part gladdened the heart of her father beyond measure, — He said, he had all his wishes realized in seeing his daughter united to the son of the great champion of irish freedom. Mr Harvey returned to Dublin in 1827, but he did not live to enjoy the happiness of seeing his beloved daughter's marriage, which only took place after his demise.

An irish gentleman, Alderman Mac Kenny came to spend some time at Paris with his family; he was a staunch irish patriot and had acquired the sympathy and esteem of the catholic population of the city of Dublin, for he was one of the first protestant Lord Mayors who ventured to check the insolence of the orangemen, and to prevent, them, on the anniversaries of the first and twelfth of july, from degrading and disgracing themselves by intoxication and all kinds of ruffianly conduct towards those citizens who did not wear the orange colours ; he was abused by these fellows for not giving the festival toast of the « glorious, pious and immortal memory », when he presided as lord mayor; as it had always been given by his predecessors, his omitting it was a crime never to be forgotten or forgiven by them.

I saw Alderman Mac Kenny with great pleasure. He was frank and kind in his manners. Through him I learned a great deal about the political state of Ireland.— Being on the most friendly terms with O'Connell and Shiel, he frequently spoke to me of their vast talents, their disinterestedness, and the great services that might be expected from their exertions to force the english parliament to concede a real emancipation, and by which the tithes, minister's money and other evils would be abolished. These were Mr Mac Kenny's opinion in 1825. — Two or three years later, when he returned to Paris, I found him less sanguine on many points, though he allowed it would be gaining a great advantage to have catholic members sitting in a british house of parliament. He feared however that their numbers never would be sufficient to obtain justice for Ireland. He told me, he completely coincided with lord Cloncurry and others of his friends, in thinking that nothing short of the irish having the power of making their own local laws could avail to remove the existing evils; still he hoped a catholic relief bill might be granted, because it would afford an opportunity to irish orators to expose to the world the grievous state of their unfortunate country.

Alderman Mac Kenny speaking one day of O'Connell's too violent language in his speeches, said, that he had a serious conversation with Shiel on the subject, and that they were obliged to agree, that as « John Bull » was

continually throwing dirt at them, it required a person to fling it back, and that no doubt that task had been well performed. Mr Mac Kenny was very impartial, and regretted much that the political state of parties needed such reprisals.

Mr Richard Dillon was a Dublin gentleman who prided himself on having been the fellow state prisoner, in the noble cause of Ireland's freedom, with such patriots as Hampden Evans, Thomas Addis Emmett, doctor Mac Neven, Arthur O'Connor, etc. Living near Oliver Bond's house in Bridge street, and hearing on the 12th of march 1798, that his friend was in distress, he went in to see him, when he was arrested and brought off to prison, with the provincial delegates, William Michael Byrne, etc. Although he had nothing whatever to do with the meeting to be held on that memorable day, when the perfidy of the notorious informer Reynolds came first to light, that monster betrayed and sold his fellow man and his country to the foreigner for lucre. He obtained high situations and emoluments from the british government, and lived on the continent with his family in the greatest luxury, on the blood money paid him in advance.

Mr Dillon resided many years at Paris, with his daughter and her family; when they went to live at Dijon, he preferred remaining at Paris, to enjoy the society he could not find in a provincial town. Although

more than seventy years of age, he was very cheerful, indeed quite like a man of thirty. He was very hospitable and generous, and availed himself of every occasion to procure amusement for his friends. On one of these he wished to treat me to a Saint-Patrick's day dinner, got up in honour of Ireland's great poet, « Thomas Moore ». It took place at the Cadran bleu on the boulevards, and was presided over by « Wellesley Pole Long, nephew, to the duke of Wellington. — I did not accept Mr Dillon's kind invitation, because I thought a french officer on half pay, who had fought against the English in Ireland in 1798, and in Spain and Portugal in 1809-10 and 11, would not feel it very agreeable to be listening to the speeches and toasts, laudatory of the heroes of Waterloo; though I should have been delighted to have heard the author of the beautiful verses :

« There is not in the wide world a valley so sweet
« As that vale in whose bosom the bright waters meet ! »

That country (the vale of Avoca), was the home of my dear mother's ancestors, the Grahams, and her birth place, and where I, when a youngster, spent many happy days, roaming on the banks of the Avoca, and in the cherry orchard of the wooden bridge, etc.

The Saint-Patrick's day dinner went off pretty well, with choice toasts from the chair, and many gay songs,

appropriate to the occasion, sung by Erin's great bard. The company however broke up rather early, that is to say, the chairman Long Wellesley, Thomas Moore and several others retired. But the majority remained at the table to finish the great festival, as it ought to be celebrated on such a day. — Another chairman, and another croupier were named, and drinking in bumpers was resumed in honour of distinguished Irishmen, when a young man, (the son of Mr Thomas Warren of Dublin, and Mr Dillon's great friend), heard a name that did not please him, and turned down his glass and said, that he hoped they were not going to add to those already drank, Reynold the informer. On which a cry was heard of « put the fellow out! » Warren jumped up, and defied the cowardly scoundrel to repeat the cry. A patrole of french soldiers was called in, and Warren was conducted to the guard house. He not being in uniform, handed his card to the officer in command. — On it was written « lieutenant Thomas Warren, garde du corps » (king's body guards). This officer hastened back to the Cadran bleu with Warren to endeavour to discover the foreign scamp who had had the audacity to offend one of his majesty's officers, but all had fled, except worthy Mr Dillon who waited with his carriage to bring his friend Warren home, and young Barron of Waterford.

Early next morning Warren came to ask me to be his second. He related to me all the particulars about the

Saint-Patrick's day dinner, but said, as yet he could not tell me the name, nor the address of the man with whom he was to fight the duel, he hoped however that our friend Mr Dillon would be able to inform us; so we drove off at once to the boulevard Montparnasse, to the residence of Mr Dillon. Tho' this gentleman agreed with all the account given by Warren of the « row », and of the cry « put the fellow out! » he could not say who the person was that had uttered it. — Mr Warren had then no other alternative but to get the following article published in Galignani's newspaper.

« The gentleman who made use of the expression « put « the fellow out! » at the Saint-Patrick's day dinner, is « respectfully invited to send his address to lieutenant « Warren, hôtel des gardes du corps, quai d'Orsay, the « 18th march 1820. »

The editor of the newspaper refusing to insert the article, Warren left several copies of it in the reading room at Galignani's; those with other copies he distributed amongst the officers of the garrison, his comrades, sufficed to make all Paris hear shortly of the row at the Cadran Bleu on the boulevards, and how it terminated.

At a family dinner, where abbé Powel and I were the only guests, Mr Dillon in speaking of the dangerous position of the state prisoners in 1798, his son-in-law not agreeing with him on every thing, he exclaimed « John

Boylen, you were doing your duty as a « loyal subject,» in the merchant corps of yeomanry, as Daniel O'Connell was doing his, in the Lawyer's corps, escorting poor lord Edward Fitzgerald from Thomas street to the prison of Newgate, whilst we the prisoners at Kilmainham jail expected every moment to be butchered by the hired assassins of the castle. — A bow of assent being given to all he said, Mr Dillon resumed his good humour and filling two small glasses with brandy said : « Come, abbé « Powell, as we should say in Ireland, let us take a drop « of the « creature » after our « fish, » not a morsel of which composed the dinner, and it happened to be a day of abstinence. The abbé lodging at the irish college, went away early. — Mrs Boylen wanting to apologize for not having fish, on account of living so far from a market, made her father enjoy his joke the more.

Mr Dillon one morning shewed me a nice green dress coat, which his tailor had just brought him home. We dined the sunday after at Mr Frank Thorp's rue de la Paix, nº 11. — I could see that the dinner party was mostly irish, as Mr Dillon shook hands with them all on entering the drawing room; he then sat down beside a lady to whom he said: « Mrs Butler, knowing I should « have the pleasure of meeting you here at dinner, I put « on my best green coat. Oh ! the sweet, lovely colour, so « cherished in our own dear little Island, green Erin, « beyond the seas, etc. » On asking my friend, doctor

Halliday who the lady was, to whom Mr Dillon was paying such court, he replied : « She is the daughter of the notorious Hunter Gowan, but as he had fourteen daughters, she may be one of those who did not approve of their father's cold blooded murders, house burnings, etc., and other outrages committed by him in the county of Wexford previous to the insurrection of 1798. »

Mr Dillon was a good patriot, with a great deal of irish humour. — After spending many years away from his native country, he returned there to terminate his long and honourable career, with his daughter and numerous grand children, at an advanced age.

Mr Frank Thorp realized a handsome fortune in Ireland, as an exchange broker at Dublin. After the restoration of the Bourbons he came to reside in Paris (rue de la Paix, n° 11), in 1815. He bought into the french 5 per cent stock or funds, when they were very low, « fifty thousand pounds sterling, » and when those funds rose above par, he used to say, « well, my « fortune is doubled without any trouble; the least I can « do, is to have some people occasionnally to dine with « me from the country where I made it. » — And indeed he was most hospitable and gave very splendid entertainments, both at dinner and in the evening. — When we happened to meet in our walks he frequently begged me, if I had no other engagement, to come and

share their family dinner, which were very sociable and pleasant; the party consisted of Mr Frank Thorp, his wife, her sister Mrs Todrich, doctor Todrich his step-son and brother-in-law, and our good friend doctor Halliday. The ladies were very kind and amiable in their manners, and I was very happy at these little dinners. Besides, doctor Halliday was one of my best friends and one of the truest irish patriots I almost ever knew. He was an accomplished, gentlemanly young man, a great linguist, speaking and writing french and italian like a well educated native of France and Italy. The french physicians allowed that doctor Halliday had the great advantage of having been received at Edinburgh as well as at Paris, doctor of the faculty of both these universities where he took out his degree, and where he made the most profound studies. He was quite at the head of his profession, when it pleased God to call him away from this world to a better, when in the prime of life, not forty years of age.

His love of irish freedom equalled that of Robert Emmett, or of any of his cotemporaries. He used to read to me sometimes extracts from a manuscript he intended one day publishing on Ireland's wants, and the remedies to be sought for from a foreign parliament. The composition was beautiful, breathing the bold aspirations of a people seeking their rights and determined to be free; but his health became so impaired that he could not finish it. — His brother who published the irish gram-

mar would have rendered service as a linguist, but he died young also.

There was no sacrifice, pecuniary or otherwise, that doctor Halliday was not ready to make to forward the interests of his native land.

In 1833 sir Jonah Barrington wishing to get printed and published in english at Paris, his « Rise and fall of the irish nation, » and not being very flush of cash, doctor Halliday brought him to stay in his house, n° 11, rue de la Paix, and paid a person to aid him in having the manuscript copied and prepared for the press. The volume was soon printed and published. Doctor Halliday paid all the expence. He hoped that book might contribute to keep alive amongst the irish, the love of their country and its independence ; and though it did not contain many particulars which occurred at that sad period of 1800, still it was well to have it, not on account of its being dedicated to lord Plunket, the « father of the Hannibals, » but because it might prove useful at some future time to historians telling the way the irish got rid of their foreign yoke.

In 1836 doctor Halliday was about asking permission from the government at Paris, to establish there a small infirmary, where he could have a few beds, and treat at his own expence there, the poor irish in Paris, who had

no means themselves to pay medical attendance and what was necessary for them in their sickness, in order to get cured. Before this plan could be accomplished, the poor fellow finished his own honourable and humane career, much lamented by his friends and acquaintances in France as well as in Ireland.

One circumstance I must mention, to shew what a kind friend he was. — When I received my appointment in august 1828 to go upon general Maison's staff on the expedition to Greece, I wrote to those of my comrades in the provinces, whose commissions I had been in the habit of executing at Paris, that I was quitting that city for « Morée. » Doctor Daniel Halliday happened to be at Dieppe at the time; his reply was an affectionate letter, with an order on his banker for a thousand francs, thinking I might be in want of money for my out fit; and I recollect with pleasure, how he in 1835 assisted in getting my dear Fanny and me married, engaging Bishop Luscombe to come to marry us at the Embassy, etc, etc. — She only knew him for a short time, still she could well appreciate his great worth.

Doctor Todrich being one of the eminent physicians at Dublin, and a member of the college of surgeons there, had to go frequently to the mansions of the gentry in the country in his professional capacity, and from him I heard a great deal about one of my fellow rebels of ninety eight. — Doctor Todrich was at lord Povercourt's in the country, the day the famous and brave Michael Dwyer

surrendered himself to his lordship, to be transported to Botany Bay, after his many marvellous escapes in the Wicklow mountains for five years; what was wonderful, and one may add « beautiful, » he was not betrayed during that long period, though a great reward was offered for his discovery and detection. To the honour of the poor mountaineers, not one could be found to be bribed by british blood money.

Baron Larrey, Napoleon's surgeon general, being intimate with doctor Todrich, was often a guest at Mr Frank Thorp's table. I recollect one day the company being greatly entertained with his simple relation of his own duties in the campaigns of the french army. — Masséna, he said, being generally in command of a corps away from the emperor's head quarters, he was the only one of the marshals with whom he was not acquainted, 'till the battles of Essling and Wagram in 1809; then under difficult circumstances they became intimate. — Great rafts of trees floated down the Danube by the enemy, carried away the bridges leading into an Island where Masséna's corps of army was placed. His communication with the emperor's head quarters being completely intercepted, he had to pass a terrible night in that island without provisions; the next morning baron Larrey went to report to marshal Masséna. He found him stretched on the ground, wrapt up in his mantle, like a great « bear, » and with a beard of several day's growth. — « Well,

« doctor, » he asked, « how are our poor wounded get-
« ting on? » — « Tolerably well, marshal, » replied Lar-
rey, « I have just had a good cup of bouillon distributed
to each. » — « What, » he exclaimed « bouillon? could
you let me have some? » A cup of it was brought him,
which he drank off and never enquired what meat it was
made of. The next day when he met the emperor, he
thought he could not give too much praise of the care
doctor Larrey had taken of the wounded.—Napoleon said
with a smile. « Yes, marshal, but my fine artillery hor-
« ses made the soup you found so good, and my soldiers
« cuirasses served as pots to boil it in, » etc.

Five years afterwards, one morning in 1814 going along the quai Voltaire to the hospital of la Charité, rue des Saints-Pères, to visit the sick and wounded there, baron Larrey was accosted by a man in an old blue outside coat, whom he did not recognize. « How, » said this person, « you dont recollect Masséna? » — « Oh! prince,
« you were always in uniform when I had the honour of
« being with you. I beg your pardon, » replied Larrey. After some more conversation, Masséna invited him to a family dinner, which the doctor accepted with pleasure, as he was desirous of knowing the ladies as well as the young men of Masséna's family. However the day of the dinner, he was surprised on entering the drawing room, to see no ladies, but about thirty men, all in coloured clothes, wearing decorations and ribbons, some of them

with one leg, others with one arm, etc. « Doctor », said Masséna, « I asked you to a family dinner; well every « one of us here, was of the family in the island on the « Danube, the night you procured to us all such good « bouillon, and rendered also other services to several of « those gentlemen. Allow me to present you, general, « colonel, etc., » continued the marshal, till he named all the guests of the dinner party. Baron Larrey declared to us, it was one of the happiest days he ever spent, which we readily believed.

Though I frequently saw baron Larrey at the grand army of Silesia in 1812, and that it was he who amputated our colonel, general Lawless at Lowenberg on the Bober, the 21st of august 1813, I never had any conversation with him 'till this day, and I must say, I was very glad to have made the acquaintance of so remarkable and worthy a man; and I regret not having taken more notes of the many interesting anecdotes he told us of Napoleon, and all the french marshals and generals of his time. — To hear accounts of valiant men is always agreeable, but it was doubly so then, when they were kept in the back-ground and persecuted, as was the case after the Restoration of the Bourbons in 1815.

Remaining as I had to do, so many years on halfpay, unemployed at Paris, I had often the melancholy duty of accompanying the funeral car of great warriors to their last abode at Père-Lachaise, and there to hear speeches

and orations pronounced over their graves, by officers to whom their noble deeds were well known. General Thiébaud was affecting and eloquent over marshal Masséna; and as I had the honour of serving in the army commanded by that great captain in Spain and Portugal, I indeed felt those speeches deeply, — as I did those made some time later over general Foy, general Lawless, etc.

The evening as well as the dinner parties were always agreeable at Mr Thorp's. Two or three card tables for écarté (then so much in vogue), were placed in the drawing room, encircled by ladies and gentlemen betting on either side, and an animated conversation going on at the same time. One night poor Ireland was the theme. Some of the company remarking how absurd it was to be keeping up agitation continually in that country, count Noé, a peer of France and chamberlain to Louis XVIII, took up the defence of the irish. He said that he hoped no one could doubt his principles as a royalist, and a lover of kingly government, but were he an Irishman, he would be an « agitator, » a rebel if necessary, to force the english to give the same laws to Ireland that she enjoyed herself, and to emancipate the catholics there, and put them on a perfect equality with the other inhabitants of Ireland. I must say I was much taken and pleased with count Noé's frank and generous defence of my unfortunate country. Coming from a gentleman of his station, and who had served for many years in the british army,

made it of still greater value than if it had been made by a person who did not know England so well as he did.

Amongst the ladies who I often met at Mr Thorp's were, Mrs and miss Wiseman, the mother and sister of a young man then studying for the church at Rome, and who has since been appointed by his Holiness cardinal of Westminster.

Mr Thorp's country house when residing in Ireland, was near Butter's town lane; the parish priest of that chapel, the reverend Father Ryan, came to spend some time at Paris. He received the kindest attention from Mr Thorp and his family; they considered him as one of their old friends and thought they could never do enough to make his visit agreeable. He told me that though Mr Frank Thorp was not a catholic, he was always one of the first to subscribe largely to every charitable collection for the poor of his parish, and he used to say to him in Paris, « reverend doctor, tho' I » am away from the green Island, you may count on me as if I were there, whenever you are in want of money for your poor. Many traits of the kind have I heard of Frank Thorp, from his acquaintances whom I met in Paris.

In 1826 Mr James Power, his mother and sisters came to France, and brought me a letter of introduction. They spent nearly a year at Paris and Versailles. A more worthy family could not be. I was much taken with James

Power's good opinions. He often spoke to me of the honourable way his father had realized a very large fortune, and of the great anxiety he felt himself that he should make a good use of it, when he came to inherit it. — In the year 1827 Mr John Power and a part of the family came to Paris. He was a man of a good understanding and of no pretence; his only ambition then seemed to be, to be considered a good irish citizen : at that time he was not thinking of being a « baronet. » He often regretted that the catholic population of Dublin, had no burying ground, like that of Père-Lachaise at Paris. I went with him to get all possible information. On his return to Dublin he consulted with his friends there about purchasing ground there for the purpose, and contributed to carrying it out, as indeed he did to all the charitable institutions of his country.

Mr and Mrs Dillon (of Dame street, Dublin), and their two daughters, were at Paris at the same time that the family of the Powers were there. Mr Dillon died soon after at Bellevue near Sèvres and his widow and daughters returned to Dublin. — To the moment I started for Greece in 1828, I had the pleasure and advantage of meeting at Paris frequently, good irish patriots, and thereby I acquired a knowledge of the political state of Ireland, and of the wish prevailing there of being emancipated. Through Mr James Power, I became acquainted with Mr Cassidy of Munsterevan. This gentleman called on me the day I was lea-

ving Paris for Greece. He was desirous to get a manuscript left with him by his wife's uncle, Judge Johnstone, printed and published at Paris. My friend Mr Arthur Barker was kind enough to promise me that he would assist Mr Cassidy and have all done to his mind. The book was a commentary on the memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone, major general in the service of the republic of France, in which the moral and physical force of Ireland is discussed and examined from authentic documents, by colonel Philip Roche Fermoy.

NARRATIVE OF MY CAMPAIGNS IN GREECE

Nothing could surpass my joy when I got my commission on the 8th of august 1828, to make part of a french army going to procure the independence of Greece; indeed it was nearly equal to what I felt on leaving Paris in 1803 for Brest, then hoping that I should accompany a french army destined to liberate Ireland from the english yoke. Alas! the poor irish were not so fortunate as the Greeks were in 1828 to get rid of their task masters.

The english ambassador sir Charles Stuart finding that colonel Corbet and I were appointed on the staff of general Maison the commander in chief of the french army going

to Greece, waited on the minister of war, general de Coux, to say, that it would be « agreeable » to his « government » if we were not employed. The minister told him, we were naturalized frenchmen, and only appointed in our turn by seniority, according to the law and military rules; besides, from our honourable service, we were well entitled to the appointments we had received. The minister was quite glad when colonel O'Niel told him that we had left Paris for our destination, as he thought that the ambassador might go to speak to the king.

When colonel Corbet and I arrived at Toulon, the first division with generals Maison, Higonet, and Tiburce Sebastiani, had sailed. The second division commanded by general Schneider, with which we embarked, sailed a few days after. Our voyage, or passage, was very tedious, on account of the vast number of transport vessels, more than sixty sail, carrying, and loaded with provisions, and escorted by war ships; all this for the unfortunate Greeks in the Morea, where nothing reigned but devastation.

Notwithstanding our long passage, we arrived off the coast of the Morea, nearly at the same time as the general in chief with the first division. He gave orders immediately to land our little army, consisting of 15 thousand men then. We soon knew the force of the enemy we

had to meet in the field : it was of course composed of all the turkish army and an army of twenty five, or thirty thousand egyptians, organized by european officers, and commanded by the famous Ibrahim Pascha, the son of Ali Pascha the vice-roy of Egypt.

General Maison had taken all the necessary measures to have made the egyptian army prisoners of war; their want of discipline, not resembling any thing like regular troops, would have rendered it an easy task. The infernal english diplomacy wished to lessen every chance which could gain honour and fame for the french army, and interfered.

The three admirals, the french, russian and the english, took on themselves to allow Ibrahim Pascha to embark with all his army and return to Egypt, leaving all the strong places in the Morea in the possession of the Turks, viz : Navarino, the citadel of Coron, Moden, Patras, etc.

Having had a letter from one of the chiefs at the war office, colonel O'Niel, to the chief of the staff of the french army, I was sure to be actively employed. — The first of october 1828, colonel Trezell brought me despatches to take to general Schneider, who was embarked with his brigade and had orders to sail to Patras. The same day general Maison passed the review of the

two other brigades and the regiment of cavalry. Ibrahim Pascha wishing to see the review, having all his fine horses embarked for Egypt, I had to escort him from where he landed on the coast to the camp, more than a league; he seemed delighted with the review, particularly with the cavalry. It was remarked that he drank plenty of wine at breakfast.

The 2d of october 1828 I was ordered to go and take the command of the town and district of Pyrgos. I marched with a regiment of cavalry and a few companies of infantry, quite sufficient to open the road and beat any Turkish army we should meet. I had orders to correspond with the general in chief at his camp at Navarino, and with general Schneider at Patras.

During the few days I commanded at Pyrgos, I learned many particulars respecting the brave young Arthur Winter. After lord Byron's death at Missolonghi, he and many others of those brave « Philhelenes », left the town and went to join the greek army in the mountains. He received a wound there, but it was not of that that he died; he was suffering the greatest want and misery for a long time before. What a pity that such men should be under the rule of foreign tyrants, and not able to live in their native land! —

General Schneider attacked the citadel of Patras and

forced the turkish garrison to capitulate and surrender forthwith. Those troops were « parked » for several days on the beach, waiting for transport vessels to take them to Smyrna. I was ordered to Patras and appointed a member of a sanitary commission which was to meet every day.

Every precaution became necessary, for we risked losing more men by sickness than we did by fighting against the turkish army.

General Maison had witnessed how the irish regiment served in Silesia, in the campaign of 1813, for we were in the same corps with him the 5th and on the 21st of august 1813 at Lowenberg on the Bober. He saw colonel Lawless have his leg carried away with a cannon ball, and ten minutes after, he received a desperate wound in the breast himself. Again before Antwerp in 1814 he had the irish regiment under his orders at the advanced posts before the town.

The chateau de Morée, two leagues distance from Patras, was a fortress of the greatest importance to the turkish government, and had a garrison of seven thousand troops ; general Maison summoned the governor to surrender. He got an insolent answer, and of course decided at once to besiege the fortress, the chateau de Morée. A camp of french troops was instantly organized before the place and a regular siege begun. The trenches

were obliged to be opened at a great distance, on account of the country offering no hillocks to cover the approach. When the breach was made and practicable, the garrison surrendered at discretion, and their arms, pistols, sabres, yataghans, etc., were distributed amongst the french troops as trophies. General Maison appointed me to command the chateau de Morée; a great honour indeed, as it was considered one of the first of the turkish empire. It and the fort of Romelia on the other side of the gulf completely impeded the passage of ships into the gulf of Lepanto, for the cannon balls nearly carried across it, it is so narrow at that part.

Colonel Corbet had the command of the citadel of Navarino, and the advantage of seeing the ships of the line coming from France, sailing into the bay there, whilst I had that of witnessing the works making and carrying out the fortification at the chateau de Morée. — Several companies of the sapeurs of the genie were employed there augmenting and improving all the out works; amongst the officers commanding these troops, was the patriotic Cavaignac, who afterwards filled the high station of chief of the executive of the french Republic, under the constituent assembly in 1848.

The greek admiral Miollis assembled his little fleet to attack the fort of Romelia; he had a sixty gun frigate made a present to him by the Americans of the United

States; after a bombardment of two hours the fort capitulated, to the great joy of the poor Greeks; they had then the passage free without obstruction on either side, into the gulf of Lepanto.

The obstructions were to come now from the diplomacy. England did not wish to see Greece become a strong independent state, on account of her Ionian islands; nor did Russia, lest it might be an obstruction at a future day to her views and designs up on Constantinople. France was disinterested and in every instance wished to see the Greeks allowed to govern themselves.

In 1829 Capo d'Istria decided to besiege the town of Lepanto by sea and land.

The Pallycars, or irregular greek troops, evinced great courage; whilst the little fleet was bombarding the lower part of the town, they attacked the upper part which stood on a hill, and after hard fighting and great losses, they succeeded in getting possession of a part of the town, where they had to fortify themselves and kept open the communication with their camp.

The turkish pascha finding he had no chance of reinforcements, consented to capitulate with Capo d'Istria's brother. — I was anxious to visit the town, and went with a few of the officers from the château de Morée. We found the venerable old pasha, the governor, much disgusted to be marched a prisoner of war from the town

that had belonged for such a length of time to his ancestors, and to be escorted by greeks troops, was humiliating indeed. The Turkish pride could put up with any thing sooner than this last mortification.

A more judicious thing could not have been thought of than to have allowed the Greeks to have all the merit of taking Lepanto, for it caused a gloom to be cast over the turkish nation, whilst it elated and raised the spirits of the Greeks.

Capo d'Istria began to shew his talents and aptitude to govern, to the country. He had such gracious manners that we were much taken with him. One day he came to visit the château de Morée, I told him how I wished to present to him the officers employed there with me, and how much they all desired to have this honour. — Without having the appearance of saying any thing to flatter them, he paid them the greatest compliments. « It is not enough » he said « to say, you execute and obey the or-« ders of your chiefs, you execute and obey the dictates « of a good conscience; there is not one of you that is « not doing more than he need, because it is for the « sacred cause of liberty, and to aid the unfortunate « Greeks to shake off the Turkish yoke; and now gen-« tlemen, allow me in their name, and in my own, to « offer you our most grateful thanks. »

Several Greeks of the first families of Patras were

with him; they were accompanying him to the town of Lepanto.

I had the garrison under arms when he was going away; we were on the beach, where a boat waited to take him to the frigate. He came and shook hands with all the officers, and embraced me in the most affectionate manner.

Capo d'Istria had already done a great deal with the little means he had, to encourage industry and good institutions; he had schools established in the poorest villages, and in less than a year, every child of ten years of age could read and write. But the protecting powers, particularly England and Russia, wanted to fix the limits or boundaries of Greece before the enemy was driven out of the country. They could not agree, only they made it evident they were not disinterested in the aid they were furnishing to the unfortunate Greeks, when it was known, that a position was created for the husband of the princess Charlotte of England, prince Leopold, who announced his nomination to Capo d'Istria. — The greek government then recommended him, on account of the great necessity of the country, to be sure to bring plenty of money with him, and to be decided to change his religion. — Then he might rest satisfied he would be well received.

The president Capo d'Istria finding that prince Leopold

declined accepting the title of king of Greece, became more energetic and determined to make the Morea an independent state, with its own institutions, thinking the Greeks would soon learn to govern themselves without foreign aid. He took no heed of the war then going on between Russia and the sultan, tho' he knew well that the Turkish garrison of Varna had to capitulate after a protracted siege of several months, and the russian army was thought to be on its march to Constantinople. — The president wishing to raise a regular army, asked for a french general who would undertake the difficult task of organizing it. General Trezell accepted the mission and acquitted himself in the most disinterested manner, receiving no pay but what he got from France, as a french officer. He not only organized and disciplined the battalions, but he lived amongst them, marching and countermarching. He formed a camp at the « Pirœus, » where they learned the french manœuvres and evolutions of the line.

The composition of the battalions as to the officers was excellent. The chiefs were men who distinguished themselves either with general Fabvier or other greek leaders or chiefs during the war; and the other officers were young Greeks, equally well noted for their bravery.

The composition of those battalions was according to the french system.

A « chef de bataillon, » a captain adjutant major, an

adjutant sous officier, formed the staff, eight companies to the battalion; a captain, lieutenant, sous lieutenant, to each company, with a serjeant major and fourier, four serjeants, eight corporals. two drummers; all comprised with the private soldiers, amounted to one hundred in each company. At the head, the grenadier company, six centre companies with the company of voltigeurs or light flank company. I have seen four of these battalions organized as above stated, and at exercise and manœuvering with precision as french troops. This proved the aptness of the Greeks to learn and improve themselves. The officers understanding, and I believe speaking french, the instructors sent from the french regiments had less trouble in teaching them.

Thus whilst a regular army was rapidly progressing in its organization, to be able to defend a greater extent of territory than the Morea, the french government spared no expence to have all the fortifications of the different towns and citadels repaired and extended, according to modern science; particularly the château de Morée where I commanded, and there my daily recreation after the service and reports of the morning were concluded, was to accompany the officers of the « genie, » who were charged with superintending the works going on in the different parts of the fortification.

I spent my time very agreeably besides. In my quality

of governor of the castle, I had to do the honours and to receive the curious tourists and visitors, who generally consisted of the navy officers arriving at Patras, after some long voyage. They used to hire horses immediately, in order to go and visit every thing worth seeing in the environs, and as the distance was only two leagues and a half, I was always sure to be favoured with the visits of these brave seafaring men.

The recent siege, when a Turkish garrison had to capitulate and surrender to the french general Maison, gave great celebrity to the chateau de Morée. Three or four of those naval officers were visiting the place one day, when one of them asked me, if I had not been in garrison at Flushing in 1808. — I said I was, on which he put out his hand and wished to know if I recollected him. « Oh « yes, I do; you are the young ensign who often dined « beside me at Holder's hotel on the quay, when you had « permission to spend the day on shore; you belonged to « the french ships of the line that were guarding the « mouth of the river Scheldt. » He was quite flattered by what I said, and although twenty years had elapsed, he still recollected the names of several officers of the irish regiment, and was sorry to hear that captains Dowdall, and Mac Cann and others, with whom he was acquainted, were killed at the siege of Flushing by the english in 1809.

He was captain of a frigate, and one of the first to be promoted, his companions told me. They also told me how very slow the advancement was in the french navy. — Of course I told them it was equally so in the army.

I must say, that throughout my campaigns, the intercourse I have had with the navy officers, has always been most agreeable, and from many of them I have received the greatest attention. Admiral Rosamel, during the short time he had the command of the fleet stationed at Navarino, shewed me the greatest kindness.

On marshal Maison returning to France, general Schneider got the command of the army of occupation left in Greece. — General Higonet being a member of the chamber of deputies, returned to France, as did general Tiburce Sebastiani.

General Schneider established his head quarters at Modon. The lieutenant colonel of the 58th regiment commanded at Patras, and I had to correspond with, and send by him, regular reports to head quarters.

General Trezell accepted the rank of major general in the greek service but not the emoluments of the situation: his french appointments quite sufficed, for he was a real soldier, who could live on very little and bear up against privation better than military men in general. He cared

little how or where he slept. I recollect one night he would not allow me to have a bed prepared for him; he wrapped himself up in his mantle and slept on the floor, and he was the first up in the morning, quite brisk and refreshed and ready for another march. To add to these qualities, his love of liberty and good institutions for his own country was the dream of his long career. He gloried in the participation he had in procuring the independence of Greece; to him the greeks were indebted for the rapid military instruction they acquired in one year.

In the autumn of 1829, the fortifications of the chateau of Morée being completed by the engineers, I got orders to receive a greek garrison of the regular troops, to have them installed in the fortress, and to give up the arms and ammunition of every sort there, to the greek commander, taking his receipt.

When I had all matters terminated with this officer, I took my leave of him and marched with the french garrison to Patras, where we embarked for Coron. — And now I must say, that never before did I execute a military order with greater pleasure. Gratifying indeed it was to an exile to have had the mission to give up this important fortress to the descendants of the heroes who so often fought on the shores of the gulf of Lepanto against the cruel Turks.

The weather being very fine, our voyage to Coron was

like a sailing party of pleasure, in sight of the Islands every day. I was on board the frigate « Venus; » it was crowded with officers. The captain made me a very comfortable bed in his saloon, and not being troubled with seasickness, I enjoyed myself much. — In passing the isle of Ithaca, I was reminded of Ulysses and Telemachus. —

When Coron was taken in october 1828 the Turks with their garrison evacuated the town. The poor greek population that was living outside in huts under the walls of the place, were allowed by the french general to occupy the Turkish houses. Of course they took the best, so that the troops on landing were for some days before they were properly installed ; but the officers of the genie soon had barraks prepared, and we found many advantages at Coron over the chateau de Morée, as to provisions, and many other things, so that our sojourn at Coron was much more agreeable. I found it particularly so, as the brave 58th of the line, which was with me at the chateau of Morée, completed the garrison of Coron. I had many friends amongst its officers, such as de Selve, François, etc.

The church, which had been a Mosque, was nicely cleaned and brushed up, and the greek orthodox service was regularly performed there and was well attended.

On the fourth of november 1829, the fête of Charles X, a great ceremony with high mass, « Te Deum, » etc., was celebrated in this temple with all the usual greek

splendour, which indeed far surpasses the roman catholic church for the gorgeous dresses, etc. Our chaplains being all absent or sick, we attended the fête in honour of Charles X in the greek church.

General Schneider came to inspect the 58th regiment, and spent a few days at Coron before he returned to his head quarters at Modon. — He told us we might expect to pass the winter at Coron, and that we ought to endeavour to spend our time as cheerfully as possible. — It passed away. — We took pleasant walks every evening after dinner, returning to a coffee house to take refreshments, play at some game etc., 'till eleven o'clock. — I availed myself of the little military duty I had to perform at Coron, to go and visit Sparta, Mistra, Messina and other ruins; but at that time the country was covered with modern as well as ancient ruins; nothing escaped the Turkish savages. All was a scene of desolation wherever they had passed. I can never forget the sight of the poor greek children, half naked, sallying from behind the ruins of the burnt villages with little bits of white paper or white rags of some kind, on switches, to welcome us on our march from Navarino to Patras, in october 1828. Indeed it was consoling to see the unfortunate inhabitants shewing their gratitude to the french army in the best way they could. From Pyrgos a deputation of the people of the town met us near the river and brought pastiches and grapes for the soldiers. I was

quite proud to see this as I remained to command the town and district for some days, to encourage the inhabitants who were still away, to return to their houses. It was curious to see some of them having great difficulty to discover their own former dwellings, so levelled and ruined was every house and garden.

In the month of december 1829 general Schneider received orders to return with the army of occupation to France, after he had seen that the Greeks had taken possession of their towns and strong places.

They had then a regular government, with all the elements to have an army of their own, quite adequate to guard their frontiers against a turkish invasion. The french troops were to be embarked at Navarino to return to France. The 58th regiment left Coron and marched to Navarino.

I remained at Coron with the genie and a company of artillery for ten days, waiting the arrival of a battalion of the greek regular troops, to the chief of which I had orders to give up the place, as I had done at the chateau of Morée, making an inventory of the arms, stores, etc.

Whilst waiting the arrival of the greek troops to come and take possession of the town of Coron, a terrible explosion took place at Navarino; the lightning fell on the powder magazine of the citadel, blew up the walls, and shattered and split open all the houses. On that which

colonel Corbet and his secretary occupied, some stones of several hundredweight fell; however they had the good fortune to escape unhurt. The first battalion of the 54th regiment was embarked before the explosion took place; the 2d battalion being still in the citadel, had a great number killed and wounded, as had the company of sapeurs and artillery. It was lamentable to see so many of those fine fellows with their legs and arms amputated; were it after fighting a great battle, they would often say, it would be all fair to leave our members on the field there, but to lose them this way, is too bad.

When I gave up the town of Coron to the greek commander, I marched with the french troops to Navarino, there to wait our turn to embark for France. Colonel Corbet had the goodness to have one of the houses in the citadel ready for me, and its being adjacent to his, I found myself quite comfortable. We dined together and took pleasant walks in the evenings, and expected to have still to stop ten or fifteen days before vessels sufficient to embark us all would be assembled in the bay of Navarino, when one night despatches for general Schneider came, with counter orders, not to embark any more troops, and that all those that had not yet sailed, should be landed and kept to assist the « Genie » in having the citadel rebuilt, and the powder magazine made proof against bombs and lightning.

This counter order caused great disappointment to the officers and troops who expected to return to France. Colonel Corbet and I were glad to remain, knowing as we did that Greece then needed french aid and french protection more than at any other moment, in consequence of the party spirit fomenting through the country against the president Capo d'Istria.

CONCLUSION

Mr Byrne was at Navarino when the revolution ofjuly 1830 took place at Paris, and it was there he received his commission as chef de bataillon of the 56th regiment of the french line, then in garrison at Grenoble.

He lost no time in sailing for France, and made a most agreeable voyage aboard a french ship of war, the captain of which, like almost all the french naval men he ever had intercourse with, he found a most gentlemanly, wellmannered man. — As a superior officer coming as a passenger aboard a ship of war, he of course enjoyed many advantages and comforts.

When he joined the 56th regiment at Grenoble, it was commanded by colonel Bugeaud, afterwards marshal Bugeaud.

From Grenoble the 56th went to Besançon, from Besançon to Dijon, — and in 1832 it marched from Dijon to Brittany where it was sent to help to put down

the insurrection which had been got up by the duchess de Berri and her partisans.

Mr Byrne intended writing a very full account of his campaigns in Greece, and of the five years he passed in the 56th, of the civil wars in Brittany, etc. His intention unfortunately not having been completed, for he has left but 24 pages of manuscript regarding his services in Greece, it now remains to be told the very great satisfaction he ever expressed which he had in serving in the 56th.

Amongst the superior officers, lieutenant-colonel Thiery (afterwards general Thiery), and Mr Viaris were his great comrades. Their abilities and intelligence, their opinions and whole character, the services they had seen, all made their society a very great resource to him. He formed friendships too with several excellent men amongst the captains.

He was ever fond of the society of the young; the generous tone of their sentiments, their hopefulness of the future, were all in unison with his own feelings, and he found the lieutenants and sous-lieutenants of the 56th a very choice set of young men. Many of them have since risen very high in their profession.

The 56th on coming to Paris in 1835, was stationed at Courbevoie and Ruel, and while Mr Byrne was at Courbevoie he gave in his resignation to Louis Philippe. He

was in perfect health, but seeing no prospect of war, he thought that after such a long military career and so many hard campaigns, he might retire with honour.

On leaving the 56th he was much affected by the expressions of regret of the lieutenants and sous-lieutenants, who came in a body to his apartment to bid him farewell and to invite him to a splendid dinner. There the many beautiful and affectionate and respectful speeches that were made in his honour quite overpowered him.

As he fixed on Paris for his home on retiring from active service, he had the pleasure of receiving his former brother officers frequently at his house there.

When at Nantes in 1832 he received the cross of officer of the Legion of honour from Louis-Philippe. — It was in 1813 that he was made a chevalier (or knight) of the Legion of honour by Napoleon I. In those days the number so distinguished was very limited.

Mr Byrne being of a very social disposition, had much enjoyment in the society of his large circle of friends either living at Paris or coming there occasionally. It was very gratifying to him to find such old comrades in exile as colonels Allen and Ware, preserving to their last days, the vigor of their minds and all their fresh feelings towards Ireland. — When the 56th went from Dijon to Brittany, colonel Ware met Mr Byrne on the bridge at Tours, on the arrival of the troops there in boats. They

had not met for several years, so as the regiment was to be off in the morning, the two friends did not think of going to bed, but sat up all night enjoying each other's conversation.

Mr Byrne had great pleasure in the society of women of cultivation of mind, who possessed also generous feelings towards the oppressed, as he himself had. But no guests were more welcome to his house, than intelligent, high-minded, young Irishmen and Scotchmen.

His great friend and comrade Mr Viaris on taking his retreat, came and settled in Paris, to be near his daughters mesdames Tourgueneff and Vigogne. On his death in the summer of 1859, Mr Byrne wrote the following article for one of the public journals.

« GAETANO VIARIS, of a noble family at Turin, was a young officer in a Piedmontese regiment at the time when his country was annexed to France (in september 1802). Being desirous to follow up his military career under the great Napoleon, he took service in the 111th regiment composed of Italians; in which he soon arrived at the rank of captain. His regiment was attached to general Friant's division, and under that intrepid leader distinguished itself greatly at the battles of Austerlitz (1805), Iena (1806). Friedland and Eylau (1807), and Essling and Wagram (1809). At the grand army the emperor seeing the name of captain Viaris so often in the orders of the

day of his division, named him a baron of the Empire. Napoleon announced this honour with that gracious familiarity of manner which he sometimes assumed in order to signify his especial favour. At a review of the regiment, after asking Viaris his name, he took hold of him by a button and said. « Monsieur Viaris, tu es ba- « ron, n'es-tu pas content? » — » Ah yes! Sire » exclaimed the delighted Viaris, « and I hope I shall know « how to die for your majesty, to prove it. » — « Nay, « rather endeavour to live to serve me, » rejoined the emperor. After the battle of Iena, Viaris was decorated with the cross of chevalier of the Legion of honour. He received the cross of officer of the Legion of honour on the 30th of may, 1837. He prized these rewards of his merit as a soldier far beyond all hereditary titles.

At the battle of Moscow, and in the retreat from Russia, the 111th regiment, ever in the thick of the fight, suffered dreadfully. In 1813 Viaris was placed on the staff of marshal Davoust at Hamburg. Like Antwerp, that city was not evacuated by the french troops till after the restoration of the Bourbons in 1814.

The emperor Napoleon, on his return from Elba, in march, 1815, appointed M. Viaris chef de bataillon in the imperial guard. He remained one of the last upon the field of Waterloo, and there he received the last of his many wounds.

He did not follow the emperor to Saint-Helena, but went into exile in Switzerland, hoping to be able to organize some plan for the freedom of his native land. Piedmont having been detached from the french Empire, was under the yoke of the Holy Alliance, the worst of tyrannies. After some time he was compelled to leave Geneva, which was completely under the rod of Austria, and to seek a new place of exile. He repaired to Edinburgh, with his wife, an accomplished german lady, and their four children. There they met a most hospitable reception, and were treated with every respect and friendship.

In 1828 Mr Viaris returned to France, and after the revolution of july 1830, he was appointed to the command of a battalion of the 56th regiment of the line. It was at Grenoble that he joined his regiment; and there he met an irish exile in the service of France, who was returning from the greek war of independence, and who had just been appointed to command another battalion of the 56th. Between these two arose a friendship, made up of a sympathy of habits, feelings, and opinions, such as is known only to military comrades, and which never declined till poor Viaris was no more.

The french army now engaged in the glorious mission of liberating Italy, and chastising the tyrants who attempted to enslave Piedmont, ought to feel that they are paying a debt of honour, when they think of the

torrents of blood shed by such men as Viaris in the service of France. Oh! that he were alive now to rejoice in the triumph of the arms of France and Italy!

The military career of Viaris was quite arrested by the restoration of 1815, yet, after the revolution of 1830 he might have obtained rapid advancement had he availed himself of the influence of his friends who were well with the court. But he could not stoop to solicit court favour. His only ambition was to maintain his patriotic independence. And but a short time before his death he said to a friend, who gently upbraided him with his uncompromising attitude towards the court: « Were all to be acted over again, I would do as I have done. »

« Gaetano Viaris lived and died the pattern of a true soldier. »

The son of Monsieur Viaris is now a colonel of artillery in the service of France and high on the staff in Africa.

Adolphe Danner, a lieutenant in the 56th under M. Byrne, distinguished himself greatly in the war of the Crimea, and received for that a decoration of rank in the order of the Bath from the queen of England.

He is now a general of brigade and commanding at Perigueux.

The « baron E. Maire, » the son of a distinguished officer who received his title of baron on the field of battle from the emperor Napoleon, was a sous-lieutenant in M. Byrne's battalion of the 56th. He is now colonel of the 8th regiment of the line.

At the battle of Solferino in june 1859, he received three gun-shot wounds, besides several contusions from split shells. He had to command his regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel, at that battle, his colonel having been disabled at the fight at Montebello. — The battle of Solferino began at four in the morning; before mid-day, colonel Maire saw 18 officers fall quite near him. By 5 in the afternoon 22 were hors de combat. Colonel Maire wrote to Mr Byrne in the month of november from the hospital at Milan, where he had remained in consequence of his wounds, after the battle, and signed his letter, with much affection your « ex sous-lieutenant. »

Another officer who distinguished himself in Italy, and in whom Mr Byrne felt much interested was, colonel O'Mally, afterwards when in China, promoted to the rank of general. He is the son of his old brother officer in the irish legion, captain Austin O'Mally. It was ever a gratification to Mr Byrne to hear of the honours gain-

ed by his brother officers or their sons. — He might be said to have a disposition for happiness to his last days as when starting into life That which cast a cloud on his enjoyments was, thinking of the melancholy condition of his poor fellow countrymen in Ireland.

It filled him with anger and with sorrow when he considered the rich produce of Ireland, her vast agricultural exports, the luxury in which the upper classes in Ireland live, and yet, the deplorable state of the great mass of the people, so completely without the common comforts of housing, cloathing or food.

He felt a devotedness of attachment to Ireland, which perhaps only an exile can comprehend. He saw that nature had done much for Ireland and her people, and that with wise and energetic and benevolent exertions on the part of the influential classes, the peasantry might be comfortable and happy, and the land of his birth and his affections « great, glorious and free. »

On reading these memoirs, it is impossible not to feel indignant at the injustice and persecution Ireland has suffered from England, and by which such a man as Miles Byrne was forced to throw himself into all the miseries of civil war. That war was not raised to support the claims of a pretender to the throne, or to aid one sect or faction against another, but it was the honest effort of virtuous, patriotic, high-minded men, having a deep

stake in the country, to better it's condition, and to throw off an oppressive government which has ever regarded irishmen as aliens.

When these generous and patriotic men failed in their efforts to emancipate their native land, they were obliged to seek a home on a foreign shore. — They found it, and likewise the honours they so well deserved.

On friday, the 24th january 1862, Mr Byrne died, at his house in the rue Montaigne, « Paris. »

Throughout his life he enjoyed a course of good health, favoured by his very sober habits; thus he had none of the maladies of old age.

He had had a cold, but only kept his bed the last two days; suffering nothing, except a degree of weakness which he thought would go off with his cold. — Preserving as he did, his usual cheerfulness, his clear, vigorous mind, his warm affections and lively interest in what was going on in the world, there appeared no cause for alarm.

That last friday, my sister Mrs Power having received letters from our niece lady Lyell in London, and from her sisters at Florence, he was particularly anxious to hear their contents. — He was much interested in hearing about America from lady Lyell, as she wrote so

much from what she heard from her distinguished and valuable American friends at Boston and New-York; the letters we had from Florence were equally interesting to him, as my brother and his family were living in very choice italian society there.

From Mr Byrne's earliest years, he regarded the government of the United States of America, as founded by Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, etc., with the greatest admiration; — and with veneration, for its giving a refuge, an asylum, to the oppressed and persecuted of other nations. — He was greatly grieved at the civil war between the States of the north and the south, but he felt hopeful of the ultimate result, and had no fear of the union being broken up; on the contrary, he expected it would probably be stronger than ever, and also be purified from the blot of slavery. — His aspirations after the emancipation and regeneration of Italy, were equally ardent. — His love of freedom and the well-being of his fellow creatures was confined to no country or race, and he was ever ready and active to do good and to serve others.

Never was there a more affectionate friend or relation, feeling keenly and deeply the sorrow caused by the death of such friends as colonel Ware and colonel O'Niell. The tender interest he took in the children of his friends and relations shewed his gentle nature; he knew how to talk to the young, and he used to speak with pride and

gratification of the promise of future abilities, which he thought he saw in some of his young nephews, the sons of one of our nieces.

Those now alive who knew him will remember well his fine tall manly figure and his sweet countenance beaming with benevolence.

All his admirable and amiable qualities made his loss be felt the greater and more afflicting.

He was very cheerful and happy-looking all friday; about eleven o'clock at night, he appeared to be falling asleep, — but alas, life was gone!

He lies interred in the cemetery of Montmartre. He was followed to his grave by many mourning friends, who knew well how to appreciate his virtues and high qualities. —

The inscription I have put upon his tomb tells the simple truth.

FANNY BYRNE.

ICI REPOSE

MILES BYRNE

CHEF DE BATAILLON AU SERVICE DE FRANCE,

OFFICIER DE LA LÉGION D'HONNEUR,

CHEVALIER DE SAINT LOUIS.

NÉ A MONASEED, DANS LE COMTÉ DE

WEXFORD EN IRLANDE,

LE 20 MARS 1780,

MORT A PARIS

LE 24 JANVIER 1862.

DANS SA LONGUE CARRIÈRE

IL S'EST TOUJOURS DISTINGUÉ PAR LA DROITURE

ET LA LOYAUTÉ DE SON CARACTÈRE

ET PAR L'ÉLÉVATION DE SES SENTIMENTS.

SINCÈREMENT ATTACHÉ A L'IRLANDE

SON PAYS NATAL,

IL A FIDÈLEMENT SERVI LA FRANCE

SA PATRIE ADOPTIVE.

APPENDIX

—

Copy of a letter from colonel Maire of the 8th regiment of the line to Mr Byrne.

« Milan, 5 novembre 1859.

« Mon bon et cher commandant,

« Lorsque j'ai reçu votre aimable lettre du 2 juin, qui ne m'est parvenue que le 15, les mouvements rapides que nous opérions dans la Lombardie me laissaient peu d'instants disponibles ; j'avais d'ailleurs la responsabilité du commandement du régiment depuis Montebello où mon colonel avait été blessé. J'attendais donc le premier mo-

ment de répit pour vous écrire une lettre aussi longue que possible, quand la bataille de Solferino est arrivée sur les entrefaites. L'engagement avait commencé à quatre heures du matin; vers le milieu de la journée j'avais déjà vu tomber autour de moi dix-huit officiers et je restai seul officier supérieur, blessé moi-même, mais pas assez grièvement, pour abandonner encore la partie : à cinq heures du soir, le régiment avait vingt-deux officiers hors de combat, et j'avais pour ma part reçu trois coups de feu et deux éclats d'obus.

« Malgré la gravité de mes blessures, je me suis tiré d'affaire. Après un séjour de quatre mois à l'ambulance, j'entre en convalescence et j'espère que l'usage des eaux l'année prochaine complètera ma guérison.

« Je dois dire qu'on m'a indemnisé de mes blessures en me nommant colonel du 8e de ligne, quand j'avais à peine un an de grade de lieutenant-colonel. Je compte rentrer en France dans une huitaine de jours pour rejoindre mon nouveau régiment.

« Il n'y a qu'une quinzaine de jours que je peux me permettre d'écrire, et je ne le fais encore qu'avec assez de difficultés, ce qui vous expliquera mon affreux griffonnage.

« Je compte aller à Paris vers le mois de janvier quand je serai un peu plus consolidé, et je serai très-heureux de vous y voir ainsi que madame Byrne, que je prie de vouloir bien agréer mes plus respectueux hommages. Et vous, mon bon et cher commandant, veuillez recevoir la

nouvelle assurance des sentiments les plus affectueux et les plus dévoués de votre ex-sous-lieutenant.

« Baron E. Maire. »

P. S. — Si vous voyez Ferdinand Danner, soyez assez bon pour lui offrir mes bonnes amitiés.

E. M.

Upon Mr Byrne's lamented death at Paris, on the 24th of january, 1862, there appeared in the « Union » (a Paris journal), the following article, written by an old brother officer lieutenant-colonel Mac Sheehy.

NÉCROLOGIE

« Le 27 janvier ont eu lieu à Saint-Philippe du Roule, les obsèques d'un de ces hommes héroïques dignes d'être cités en exemple aux générations présentes et futures. Le chevalier Byrne, vaillant officier de notre ancienne armée, était un chef de bataillon en retraite, chevalier de Saint-Louis, officier de la Légion d'honneur, l'un des derniers survivants de l'insurrection irlandaise de 1798, à laquelle il prit une part glorieuse, notamment aux combats d'Oulard Hill et de Carigrew Hill.

« Quand les forces si considérables envoyées d'Angleterre et commandées par lord Cornwallis durent condamner l'Irlande à n'être plus qu'une province anglaise et que Robert Emmett voulut tenter un dernier effort pour délivrer sa patrie, en 1803, Byrne fut encore un des plus fermes et des plus actifs soutiens de cette nouvelle insurrection, qui échoua encore comme la précédente. On sait le sort qui attendait Robert Emmett. Son frère dut gagner l'Amérique, où il devint un avocat distingué.

« Byrne put s'embarquer pour la France et mettre son épée au service de sa nouvelle patrie d'adoption. Incorporé dans l'infanterie, il tint d'abord garnison en Bretagne et fit partie de cette légion irlandaise qui, émule glorieuse de l'ancienne brigade de ce nom, fournit tant de braves soldats, dont les noms se trouvent encore dans tous les rangs de l'armée, depuis le sous-lieutenant jusqu'au maréchal de France.

« Byrne, après avoir gagné ses premiers grades à Landau, à Mayence, au camp de Boulogne, se distingua surtout en Espagne et en Portugal. En 1814, Carnot le mit à l'ordre du jour lors du siége d'Anvers. En 1828, il partait pour l'expédition de Grèce, et reçut le commandement du château de Morée. Au retour, il fut nommé chef de bataillon au 56e de ligne : ce fut son dernier régiment ; aussi, un de ses anciens lieutenants, « le colonel Danner », en accompagnant les restes du vieux gentilhomme irlandais à sa dernière demeure, a-t-il, d'une voix profondément émue, prononcé ces paroles :

« Au bord de la tombe du digne commandant Byrne, « je viens représenter ses anciens compagnons d'armes, « ceux surtout au milieu desquels il avait atteint le « terme de sa carrière militaire.

« Il avait laissé parmi nous, avec le modèle de ses longs « et honorables services, le souvenir bien plus rare des « sentiments les plus élevés, du cœur le plus loyal, le « plus généreux.

« C'est ce culte de haute estime et de vive affection « dont nous l'avons entouré, de près ou de loin, dans sa « noble vieillesse, que nous venons encore professer ici, « dans les regrets que nous lui témoignons, et qui seront « chez nous ineffaçables comme sa mémoire.

« Au nom de tous vos anciens amis de l'armée, au nom « de vos élèves du 56e régiment, adieu ! notre brave et « excellent commandant, adieu ! »

MILES BYRNE under the name of colonel X.. by J. M. from a letter to the « Irishman » a Dublin newspaper, dated, Paris, 15th january 1860,

« Many a stately old « militaire » is to be seen in the streets of Paris, with white moustache and the small red rosette on his breast; but there is « one » amongst those war-worn ancients whom I wish I could bring vividly before the eyes of your reader, for a reason which will presently appear. Walking on some of these bright winter

days along the avenue of the Champs-Elysées, you may see a tall figure, the splendid ruin of a soldier d'élite, bearing himself still erect under the weight of eighty winters. Aged as he is, the impression which his aspect gives you is not that of a feeble venerableness. The grey eye is keen and proud; the thin face bronzed and worn by war and weather, and the whole bearing of that antique roman head, give the idea, not of decrepitude, but of a certain dashing gallantry. The features are very fine and delicately cut, with the undefineable thorough-bred look, mobile and plastic to every impulse of feeling, of merriment, resentment, benignant kindliness, as they could have been even in the flush of his golden youth. For in truth he is of those rare beings who never grow old; and though he should fill up his century of years, he will not be venerable.

« You perceive that he has the cross of an officer of the legion of honour, and twined with the rosette of that orders is the chocolate-coloured ribbon of the Saint-Helena medal — a decoration which our Anglo-Saxon brethern do not admire,

« An old officer, then, of Napoleon-le-Grand. His rank is that of chef de ba'aillon, equivalent to that of colonel in the british service, and for all present purposes it will do well enough to call him colonel X... — He has marched over half Europe, and stood full often at the head of his

regiment on the « rough edge of battle » ; served in Spain,in Germany, in Greece, and at Flushing, so that I suppose he has well won his decorations and appointments.

« In all this there is nothing extraordinary. Five hundred french officers, now living, have done all this; and walk when so incline in the Champs-Elysées, fine old heroes, too, with fire still glowing under the grey ashes that strew their heads, and a spirit of fight yet, in any stirring cause. Nevertheless, if you knew all, you would gaze still more eárnestly on the face of colonel X... than on that of any of his compeers; for in truth he is the last link that connects our enlightened (but rather shabby) generation with yet older and more terrible scenes than those in which he won his crosses. Other and earlier memories cloud at times his clear grey eyes; and through and beyond the battle smoke and thunder of all Napoleon's fields, he has a vision of the pikemen of New Ross, and hears the fierce hurrah on Oulard hill.

« That is to say, this colonel X... before he served under Napoleon the first, served under Father John Murphy. He was but a youngster of eighteen, when an uncle and his son-in-law, gentlemen of Wexford county, were shot down in cold blood at their own doors by a detachment of the « Ancient Britons » lest they might have been perhaps implicated in the united irish society, or would, could,

or should be there after implicated. Bands of the peasantry whose houses had been burned down, were ranging the hills, and at length, in desperation, under Father Murphy and the tall youngster, now colonel X... they went to meet the Wexford militia cavalry on their march, barricaded the road before them and behind, went in on them with pikes and forks, — sand one of the captains, one observer and one serjeant escaped alive to tell the tale that the rebels were « up. »

« Shortly after, on Oulard hill, the insurgent stood ranged, with a common meering ditch in front, waiting the assault of several regiments advancing to attack them. The regiment of North Cork militia led the assault and arrived first on the brow of the hill, when the light-limbed pikemen, with the same young X... in their front, leaped the ditch, and swept down upon the North Cork in a tempest of steel.

« The men were fresh, the pikes were thirsty; the soldiers would have run if they could, but these agile mountaineers, long of wind and unembarrassed by knapsack, were upon them in a few strides, and the North Cork militia being suddenly abolished, disappeared from all army lists and muster « effectives » from that day.

« Throughout all the campaign of those few but bloody weeks, X... had his share both in victory and in defeat. He and his men were beaten at Arklow ; but on the other

hand he had the gratification of destroying general Walpole's force.

« Again, he unhappily missed the righteous sacrifice of Ballyellis, where those atrocious « Ancient Britons », basest and bloodiest of Carhampton's banditti, were piked to the last bandit.

« At Vinegar hill, he led a band of pikemen, and through that long and disastrous day, helped to keep the last strong hold of the insurrection against a british army of twenty thousand men.

« When all was lost, he joined Holt amongst the Wicklow mountains, and kept the banner of the cause flying to the last. In fact it was not until, by the failure of Emmett's attempt, Ireland was ruined and lost for that generation that he entered the french service in the irish legion.

« Here then, is one of the « french colonels » who has somewhat to add to the account they keep open. He, as well as they, has the debt of Waterloo to balance; the stain and sting of Saint-Helena to wash out; and over and above, he throws into the debtor side of the book, Vinegar hill to be atoned. Not that there is the slightest shade of malignity in the noble old man; nor so much as a vindictive feeling; but there stands the account open. He knows that a just God reigneth on the earth; as a

frenchman and as an irishman, he feels that the balance must be struck; and, whenever the shifting scenes of diplomacy appear to open a prospect that a kind Providence is about to bring the hour of final settlement, even now, — even in this his day, — a flush burns on the ancient warrior's thin cheek, and the hand that has swayed the sword for two generations trembles like a « maiden's. »

END OF THE THIRD AND LAST VOLUME

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